The World Outlook On Social Transformation

World Unity

THIS MONTH

The Significance of Lausanne—*Editorial*
The Nature of World Unrest—*Holley*
The Crisis in Germany—*Holt*
Man's Search for Happiness—*Woodward*
Fundamental Problem of Pacifism—*Jaszi*

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he spirit of the new age

The Psychology of Social Reform—*Rusk*
A New Epoch of Civilization—*Hinner*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

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WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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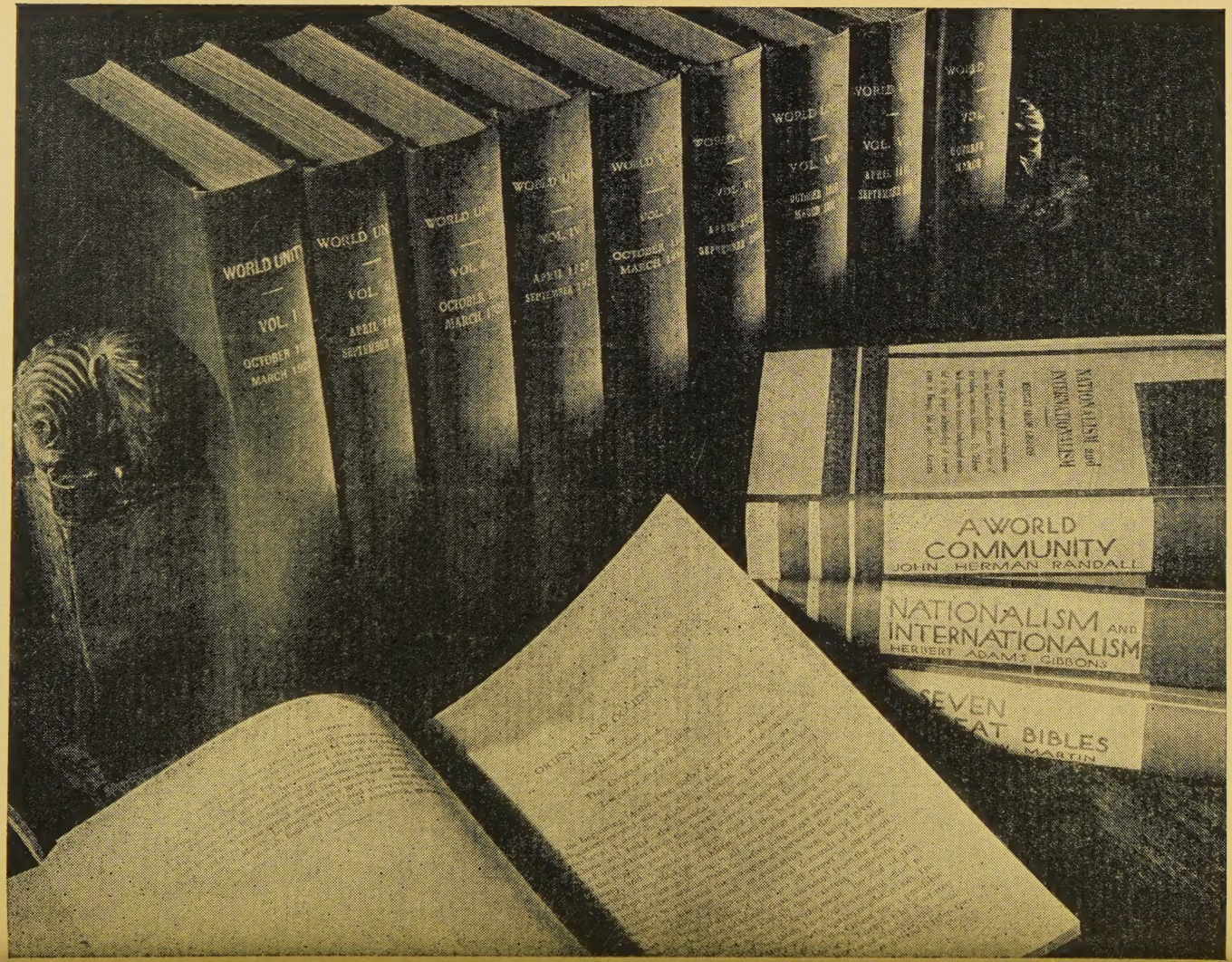

"Knowledge to serve the ends of responsible power."

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF LAUSANNE

EDITORIAL

THE last month has seen some encouraging signs in the political situation, if not in actual economic conditions. Foremost in importance is the final agreement reached by the Lausanne Conference which makes possible a new reparations pact, that will eventually write *finis* over the whole vexing reparations problem. It must be remembered, however, that the agreements entered into at Lausanne are not now in effect. They must first be ratified by the respective parliaments and governments of the nations concerned. And as clearly indicated, there will be delay in ratification until after there have been negotiations with the United States in regard to Allied debts. This was so well understood by Chancellor von Papen that he asked for and received a formal promise that if the Lausanne Settlement was not approved there could be another reparations conference.

In spite of all protests from Washington, it is clear that the next step forward must be taken by the United States. For years we have been advising the Europeans to settle the reparations question among themselves before they could expect anything from us in the way of adjustment of war debts due this country. This policy, publicly stated more than once, has established a corollary to the settlement of reparations in the mind of Europe; that corollary is the cancellation, or at least, some drastic revision of the war debts.

In closing the Lausanne Conference, Ramsay MacDonald said, "The arrangements signed here must have a response elsewhere," and "elsewhere" means in Washington. Whether it will be at the proposed London Economic Conference or through diplomatic channels the Nations that now owe us some $10,000,000,000. war

debts are going to say "We have settled reparations as you advised, what about war debts now?"

This situation presents enormous difficulties for our government and there will be a long drawn out fight before Congress will agree to act on what the logic of events has decreed, namely, the frank reconsideration of the whole war debt question. Congress is still largely hostile to measures which President Hoover, Secretary Stimson and a host of other intelligent citizens know should be taken. Under the circumstances there is small chance of any real action by Washington until after the November election. All this means the further postponement of the return of more normal economic conditions, that now hangs on the settlement of these grave international problems.

One of the most encouraging signs of the Conference was the length to which France went in doing away with reparations. Up to the last week there was general doubt as to any agreement being reached at this time. That France did finally agree to end reparations and on terms acceptable to Germany, represents a policy which is far and away from that which led her into the Ruhr. It may be that she saw in concessions to von Papen a chance to belittle Hitler's opportunity for success at the coming German Elections. But, more than that, for the past two years there has been a marked growth of a spirit of moderation in France, especially outside of Paris.

If this swinging away from the ultra-nationalism of the last few years, on the part of France, can become a permanent change of spirit and attitude, and can be extended to other nations, including the United States, then there is the chance for the gradual settlement of all our vexed problems, through a genuine international cooperation, for which the world now waits.

J.H.R.

THE NATURE OF WORLD UNREST

by

HORACE HOLLEY

THE EXTENSION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF WAR

WARFARE and strife have ever been present in human society, but since the outbreak of military operations in Europe eighteen years ago, the principle of war has been enormously reinforced. The cessation of hostilities by no means meant the termination of war. The military period served to exhaust and destroy all the human and social resources at the command of governments, but the consuming flame was communicated from the field of battle to the broader field of business, where its destructiveness assumed new forms.

In passing from the military to the economic domain, the principle of war escaped the control vested by society in government, which throughout history has served to confine the area and duration of violent combat within the attainment of definite objectives. The principle of war today—that is, the condition of organized conflict—spreads throughout the body of society, engaging all civil activities and setting not only nation against nation but class against class and interest against interest. In this domain no government nor any other social institution is powerful enough to stamp out the flames. Civilization has become one continuous crisis, a state of unending civil war. Meanwhile, under the steady pressure of fear arising as much from the possibility of domestic revolution as of foreign aggression, the military establishments directed by all leading governments have accumulated means of violence sufficient virtually to destroy the human race.

As long as war can be regarded as abnormal, a temporary emergency within the control of responsible governments, ended at

will by victory or surrender, its operation does not interrupt fixed social habits nor affect fundamental ideas. A people during war temporarily abandons its civil routine and its inherited moral and religious tenets, as a family abandons a house injured by storm, to re-enter it when the storm has subsided and repair whatever damage has been done. But when the principle of war has carried over from the limited field of government operation to the unlimited field of general social activity we have a condition in which the inherited capital of social loyalty and constructive idealism is readily impaired. The steady, relentless pressure exercised by a society divided against itself and reduced to the elemental struggle for existence affects the form and nature both of government and other responsible institutions. It affects also the aims and habits of the mass of the people. The failure of social philosophies emanating from ancient religious teachings open the door to philosophies and doctrines essentially materialistic in aim and outlook. These compete for the control of the state and its complex agencies of legislation, finance and public education, altering radically the traditional relations of political parties. Industry has the alternative of entering this political struggle at the risk of separating the interests of labor, capital and consumer, or of concentrating upon its business task at the risk of finding its international markets crippled by nationalistic policies abroad and its domestic market interfered with by socialistic programs at home. As materialistic philosophies spread among a confused, a burdened and disillusioned people, religious bodies follow industry in its effort to control legislation and education in order to safeguard their special interests and values, with the result that the power of the state to adopt broad and fundamental public policies is sacrificed to the clash of determined interests. Only occasionally, and timidly, can the state rise above this interminable wrangle to consider its true relations to the world situation as a whole.

The individual, meanwhile, finds himself more and more conditioned by this general, ever-changing and menacing competition. He finds himself becoming a lone being in a social jungle threatening his welfare at many points. Isolated goodwill and personal

integrity tend to lose their meaning as he finds that they no longer produce their habitual result in terms of his life and work. He feels that there is no longer any connection between ultimate faith and today's shelter and food. He finds materialism in his church and idealism in his economic party. Above all, he witnesses the confounding of leadership in high places and recognizes that the balance of competing forces is so complete that no social group can through political influence successfully enforce its will upon the whole population. Under these conditions the final impact of world unrest upon the mass of people is anti-social, manifested in indifference, in uneasy fear or in determination to seek the short cut through direct action.

The combined and successive shock to human nature of the butchery during the war, the depreciation of currencies, the post-war revolutions, unemployment, public dishonesty, and the rise of materialistic philosophies to the stature of fully developed institutions, not to mention other vital factors such as the inadequacy of the education afforded by public school and sectarian church, and the social blindness exhibited by responsible leaders in all fields of human activity since 1914, has been underestimated in the promotion of plans promising general improvement. The ultimate triumph of the principle of war has been to reduce the richly varied capacities of people to the sheer instinct to survive. Society is no longer under control—it is a rudderless ship, an unpiloted plane. No one can predict events, and no authority can deal properly with the emergencies that continually arise.

CONFLICT OF HUMANITY AND CIVILIZATION

An adequate social diagnosis, one on which a permanent plan of betterment may be founded, can at this time scarcely afford to overlook these three essential facts: first, that through their inability to establish real peace and their endorsement of universally destructive instruments of warfare, governments no longer protect life and property, but, on the contrary, have become the chief sources of peril to mankind; second, that as the result of the concentration of the means of production and distribution, without corres-

ponding social policy, industry and commerce no longer feed, clothe and shelter the people, but, on the contrary, have increased the area and intensity of poverty and destitution; and, third, that through the diversity and strife of creeds, and their materialistic dependence upon civil authority to enforce moral principles, established religion no longer intensifies cooperation and sincere consultation for mutual protection and general betterment, but, on the contrary, poisons the very sources of loyalty and understanding and fans the flame of competition and dissension which, passing out from the church into life, sanctioned nationalism in the state and self-aggrandisement in business affairs.

By gradual, imperceptible stages, the constructive instruments of civilization have acquired destructive aims. The condition called "peace" is one in which antagonisms and strifes grow to the breaking point within each nation; the condition called "war" is the only one in which people in each nation attain solidarity and exercise collective will. The logical end of either condition is the same.

Regarded from the institutional point of view, this age marks the end of a civilization which no longer serves mankind. From the point of view of human experience, it marks the complete and final frustration of the instinctive, irrational "struggle for existence," which man shares with the beast, as the dominating social motive. Both statements reflect the same truth, for it is the instinct of physical self-preservation which throughout history has impelled humanity to organize the competitive institutions of state, industry and church which are miscalled "civilization."

Disillusion, however, would only be justified if human society could be successfully established on the war principle. An age which has fully proved that war no longer leads to the fruits of victory, and that a competitive economy no longer produces wealth, is an age permeated and sustained by providential forces. The complexity of the problem, and the greatness of the crisis, is in itself the true measure of human capacity.

To realize that antagonism and hatred, no matter how magnified by the leverage of social institutions, no matter how gilded and refined by cultural and doctrinal philosophies, threaten the very

existence of humanity, is to perceive that human life functions under other and higher laws than those which condition the life of the brute. It is likewise to perceive that, all along, the external man-made world of civilization has had no true inner correspondence with the spiritual nature and infinitely varied talents, desires and thoughts of the race. Only by continuous suppression of one entire aspect of his being—his latent and passive reality—has man, acting from emergency to emergency, made competition the dominant motive in comparison to cooperation. Both motives are always present; if competition has created governments and industrial systems, the vision of unfilled love has supplied the power and inspiration for true music, art and poetry in every age.

The rise of science in the modern age has enormously reinforced the latent powers of men in comparison to those faculties developed during the era of external struggle against the physical environment. Important as its technological achievement has been, the ultimate value of science lies not in its inventions but in its assertions of yet-undeveloped resources within the mind and soul. The faculties that make for discovery in the realm of the material universe can, and will, be employed in the more important realm of spiritual reality. Science restores the balance between man as being and man as desiring and doing. It reveals a new measure of human capacity, and confirms the integrity of the race as the vehicle for further evolution. While the effects of science so far have been negative no less than positive, a spiritual science concerned with the central problem of human welfare can provide the agencies necessary for the functioning of the spirit of cooperation throughout society.

The providential character of the crisis actually consists in the fact that it is a crisis—a challenge to human understanding not to be diverted or put off to a more convenient season. Because it is worldwide, it lays its burden as heavily upon America as Europe, upon the East no less than upon the West, upon government as upon industry, and upon religion as upon government. Humanity shares one universal experience of suffering and grief, bears one unavoidable responsibility, reacts to one supreme stimulus serving to quick-

en the slumbering, passive "inner" powers—hence humanity grows in understanding of its fundamental reality and is trained to function through collective resources and instruments.

The present unrest has no real meaning or ultimate value until it is recognized as a movement in humanity and only secondarily a disturbance in the institutional elements of civilization. Political exigencies and economic depression have become so acute that the symptoms are mistaken for the actual disease. The first principle, and the foundation upon which the new order stands, is the oneness of humanity—the interdependence of the race in a common origin and destiny. The social organization that now fails to function is one constructed upon the assumption of diversity and separateness, which has produced a society motivated by competition.

THE ANALOGY OF ROME

Fortunately, the history of our own civilization offers, on a smaller scale, an era closely paralleling the present condition.

The Roman Empire, at a certain point, also established a civilization opposed to the best interests of humanity. Its institutional society likewise entered a time of "transition" when the competitive instinct began to fail, faced with political, economic and religious problems too complex for solution by traditional means. But through the power of the Christian faith, those problems were transmuted into a higher human process. The claims of that faith no doubt remained consistently ignored or condemned by those indoctrinated with the social science of the period, but the fact remains that the stream of human evolution abandoned the institutions of civilization and flowed onward through the channels of a movement reflecting the needs and capacities of humanity. The restoration of society came about through the loyalty of regenerated individuals welded in a cooperative group, not through the reorganization of tariffs, wages, public statutes and trade. Up to the limit of human capacity, the people of faith constituted a society in which a bond and relationship, like that animating the members of a family, replace the formal procedures and unfeeling contacts sanctioned by the political and economic science of the ruined state.

The essence of that experience was the triumph of humanity

over civilization. The early Christians dipped themselves in the eternal stream of human reality, recovered the vision of God, and armed only with devotion and faith, stood fast against the shocks of a collapsing society and eventually laid the foundation for a "new age." Their faith in Christ released the mysterious forces of the spirit within; by sacrifice they were able to re-create society on a higher moral basis, nearer the ultimate aim of a cooperative world.

The early Christian world was, however, a definitely limited area, hemmed in by barbaric hordes and prevented from expanding the Christian experience to include humanity. The movement outward came to an end; Christianity organized itself for defense, admitting within itself the fatal influence of dissension and force; the new social body after it had repudiated the law of universal love revealed the presence of spiritual disease by dividing on issues of scientific truth; this fissure gradually widened until Protestantism made it permanent, and modern civilization, with its inner conflict between "secular" and "religious" values was the inevitable result. Nothing in this gradual decay can be made to serve as argument against the true significance of religion. Christianity restored the power of the heart.

The "truth" of Christianity, and of all religions founded by a prophetic spirit, is, however, not a constant but a variable; a rise toward the vision of God, followed by a darkening and degeneration. It is a spring time of spiritual fertility, followed by summer and the harvest of autumn, and terminating in the cold of winter. Civilization may be likened to a clock that must be periodically wound. The historic process that reduced Christianity from a source of inner renewal to a mere institutionalism operated also in the case of Judaism, Muhammadism, Buddhism and other religions. Each regenerated an area of humanity, revived civilization, created new and better conditions for mankind and slowly died, to yield place to another prophet and a renewal of faith.

OBJECTIVES OF SOCIAL PROGRESS

Chaos and revolution will continue, with increased momen-

tum, until social justice, inspired by a new universal faith, creates an instrument of world government, a government possessing the sovereignty of mankind, to which the national states are subordinated as provinces having only local jurisdiction. This is the central issue of the world today, the unescapable obligation written in financial, political, social and moral terms that all may eventually read.

For world government differs from the present national governments not merely through an extension of the physical area of jurisdiction, but in the dimension of social responsibility as well. It alone can effect disarmament, create a safe currency, reconcile the discord of classes, establish an education conforming to basic human needs, and overcome the sinister peril resident in the divergent theories of capitalism and communism. Not until world government exists can the divorce between "religious and "secular" values be ended, the greatest curse in human experience. World government implies social administration by the elect of mankind —men whose executive talents are imbued with moral principles. It is the partisan politician who maintains social disunity that he may have the privilege of fishing in troubled waters.

World government is the only possible source of stability for local communities in all nations. The local community today is the victim of the evils of civilization, dragged as it is by the chariot wheels of national politics and large scale industry. In the unemployment prevalent in larger towns and cities, and the prostration of agriculture which saps the life of small towns and villages, we see the brake applied which is gradually bringing civilization to an absolute standstill.

As world government is the first, so a regenerated local community is the second objective of social progress. The essential human relations are all maintained locally. It is our community environment which finally determines the quality of human life. Here our inner attitudes begin that cycle of social influence culminating either in peace or war. Here takes place the impact of education upon the unprejudiced child soul which produces the motives and reactions of adult life.

The transformation needed to make the local community over from the condition of a diseased cell in a disordered social body, into the condition of a healthy cell in a sound organism, is the extension of the social relationship from the political to the economic realm. In a vital social organism, the individual would have not merely the inalienable right to vote and receive the protection of the courts, but also the inalienable right of economic livlihood—not insulting charity but fundamental human right. The political structure today is a sieve through which runs away in loss the noblest aspirations and the most effective motives and qualities of mankind. Nothing can redeem the fact that modern government originated as an agency for the conduct of war rather than for the maintenance of peace.

This new and higher human status, moreover, does not depend upon the success of socialism and far less upon the success of communism. Both these social theories fail to correspond to the standard of human reality. They are, at bottom, an effort to organize materials and processes and not an effort to unify human beings. The emphasis is entirely upon the mechanism instead of upon the nature of man. Their complete application might produce the semblance of external order, but this would be at the expense of the human spirit. Only after we have uncovered the spiritual principles of human association can we evolve a social order corresponding to the divine reality.

Both world government and regenerated local community are possibilities in human evolution the realization of which depends upon the existence of a new scale of personal motives and a new range of social understanding. The ultimate goal of a world economy therefore has a third objective, correlated to the two objectives already outlined. The third objective is the need of spiritual education—the reinforcement of man's passive idealism to the point where people consciously strive together for mutual ends, and are no longer socially indifferent, waiting for "good times" to come of itself or to be received as a gift from a few bankers, manufacturers and statesmen.

The profit motive will not sustain a balanced, enduring civil-

ization. Far stronger, far truer—in fact, far more humanly natural —is the motive of self-expression and fulfillment found in children and surviving in the few artists, artisans and spiritually conscious men and women who refuse to be molded by the external forces prevailing in their environment. The inadequacy of the profit motive appears when we imagine the result if it were extended to family life. Every family is a cooperative economy attempting to maintain itself in a competitive community. The dissolution of the family marks the end of an age.

Spiritual education has little connection with the systems of education developed by churches for partisan ends. It is education of the whole being for useful life in a united society which derives its laws and principles from the universal law of love. It is education conscious of the modes of social evolution and hence subduing the means of life to its true purpose and outcome. One single generation raised by spiritual education above the false guides who rationalize class, race, national and religious prejudices can give humanity foothold in the new age of cooperation and unity.

These three objectives—world government, a regenerated community and spiritual education—are interdependent. Neither can exist without the other two. All three are latent in human society at the present time. They are emerging to the degree that the highest type of people in all countries recognize one or more of them as the most worthy values for idealism and effort. The sheer inertia of past evolution, however, still carries the race in other directions. By comparing the numbers and resources devoted to the promotion of these three ideals, with the numbers and resources available for the promotion of all vested interests dependent on a competitive order, we appreciate anew the depth of the crisis wherein we live.

What is needed above all at this time is a valid source of conviction that, whatever the immediate future may be, bright or dark, the reinforcement of universal truth stands behind the movement toward world order and peace, and that the opposition is in essence negative and will ultimately be overthrown. Conscious faith alone can turn the scale between evolution and revolution, between order and chaos.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

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THE ECONOMIC PROBLEM

Development of Transportation

MODERN means of transportation and communication, and the deeper and deeper penetration of both Orient and Occident, have made possible, during the last decade, the realization or the approach to realization of a number of important trade routes which, until a century ago, seemed impossibly bold projects. Between Europe and the fertile provinces of Central Africa and Southern and Eastern Asia lies a broad belt of land, extending from the Atlantic Ocean far into Middle Asia, which is inhabited chiefly by Muhammedan peoples. On account of deserts this belt of land presents a barrier to trade, and in fertility and natural resources is inferior to Southern and Eastern Asia or Central Africa. Formerly the plan was to intersect this stretch of land with great railway constructions. This plan is not yet realized. The British railway from Cairo to Cape Town, which is to open up and join in a single unit the entire area of British influence in the southern and eastern parts of the Dark Continent, is still not quite finished and must be supplemented by boat and automobile. The scope of the British colonial policy is being extended farther and farther into East Africa in order to link together administrative areas hitherto separated. This can be accomplished only through an extension of trade routes. The great French cross-line through French Africa is to extend from Constantine across the Sahara to Lake Chad, and from there to Stanleyville in the Belgian Congo,

where it will connect with the Cape-Cairo line. Thus South Africa would be connected with the Mediterranean by a railway line with two branches, with one branch leading by way of Algeria to Paris and London and the other by way of Cairo to the new railway system to be completed in Western Asia. The conquering of the desert area with the aid of modern means of transportation is a matter of vital importance to France's colonial realm. The most important provinces of this realm, North Africa and West Africa, are now to be connected with each other and with France by air lines. This European-African air line will make connections for Northern Brazil by way of Dakar in West Africa, and will thus be an adjunct of the southern transatlantic line. Of greater importance to the region of the Orient is the extension of this line to Madagascar by way of the Belgian Congo and Mozambique. In East Africa it crosses the air line between Alexandria and Cape Town, and thus presents a parallel to the railway lines which intersect Africa. The newer means of transportation do not supplant the older; they supplement it. But in the newer countries of the Orient they were put into operation along with the older, and are for this reason a symbol of the simultaneous cooperation of factors in the Orient of today which have appeared in Europe over a longer period of time.

In transcontinental importance, however, the African transportation network is second to that of Western Asia, which establishes connections with India, the Far East and Australia. Until a short time ago the sole means of transportation over this route was the sea-going vessel, which originally took the route around Africa, and later the route through the Red Sea and the Suez Canal. For decades these ocean lines have determined the expansion policy of the maritime powers in the Orient and have served as their fulcrum. In the development of many coast stations and islands in the Atlantic, Indian and Pacific Oceans the deflection of the geographical lines of political power is most clearly demonstrated. Solitary islands in the ocean have frequently been brought out of total obscurity into the foreground for a few decades, and have then disappeared again and new ones have become important as cable stations—or, lately, as airports. The political far-sightedness

of Great Britain has perhaps proved itself to be of the first order in the detection and utilization of such points—definitely important, strategically and economically, as points of communication—and has often suspected their importance in advance when it was not yet apparent under existing conditions of transportation. During the developments of the last ten years land routes, by rail and by automobile, and air routes, have begun to be as important as sea routes. In the transcontinental traffic of the Old World a sea route always means a roundabout course. The aim of the traffic policy is to proceed, as openly and as directly as possible but at the same time with assurance and without opposition, in the building of roads between the great centers of population and the centers of economic wealth. The necessity that these routes be safe has this result, that the strategic advance of the powers is carried on along the projected routes. The safety of the communications determines the course of world politics in the Near Orient, which is chiefly the region of through traffic. The mutually opposed interests of English, Russian, German and French political and economic expansion in the Orient found their outward expression in the laying out of railways and thoroughfares and in the choice of harbors and air routes. The fact that Great Britain was able to eliminate Russia and Germany from this region during the World War has strengthened her already dominant position before. The transportation problem of the Near East is the problem of British imperial highways, of the opposition offered in the way of its solution, and of the attempt to overcome this opposition—by force, by diplomacy or by the mapping out of new routes.

Only modern means of transportation have made possible the crossing of the belt of land in Western Asia between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Ancient caravan routes have taken on a modern significance. Bagdad, which had slumbered through many centuries, apart from the trade and the politics of the world, in a peace wrapped about by legends, has again assumed her ancient rôle as the focus of western oriental trade routes and political interests. Bagdad has become the central junction for the land and air traffic of the Middle East. She rivals the ancient mari-

time centers of Alexandria and Singapore, which are becoming centers of air traffic. At Alexandria the airways and the sea route from Europe branch off into the land and air route to South Africa on the one hand and to Southeast Asia on the other. With the evacuation of the Egyptian capital by the British troops, the original rôle intended for Cairo is being transferred to the seaport and its environs, which are always within range of the English battleships. Egypt is already accessible today by railway from Europe. The Orient Express continues its run, by way of Constantinople, to Aleppo in Syria, and from there, by way of Tripolis and Haifa, to the Suez Canal. From the new harbor to be built in Haifa the Mediterranean will be connected with Bagdad by a railway through the Syrian Desert and across the Euphrates, parallel to a route from Haifa and Beirut on which regular postal communications between the Mediterranean and Mesopotamia have been maintained by automobile for years. The projected road to Bagdad from the region about the Suez Canal, which is under British control, will have only one terminus on the Mediterranean. The other will be at the northwest corner of the Red Sea, where the harbor of Akaba is to be connected by rail with Ma'an on the Hejaz line, from which point there is already a regular railway service to Haifa and Damascus. These cities will then be linked to Bagdad also. Bagdad already has a regular railway connection with Constantinople, the Taurus Express, which runs along the old Bagdad road to Nisibin. Over the still unfinished portion of the road, from Nisibin to Kirkuk, automobiles are used. From Kirkuk the railroad continues to Bagdad and to Basra on the Persian Gulf. Thus the original systems of the Bagdad and the Hejaz railways, planned before the World War in the interests of Turkey and Germany, are to be merged and extended to the Suez Canal and the Red Sea. This new transportation network no longer serves the original interests, but serves the British imperial policy and opens up and establishes the route to India.

Only one regular automobile road leads eastward today from Bagdad into Persia. The Persian government has already begun to build a great transverse railway line from the Caspian Sea to the

Persian Gulf. This line will doubtless be connected later, at Kirkuk, with the railway system of Mesopotamia. In this way railway connections will be established between the Mediterranean, the Caspian Sea and the Indian Ocean, and all West Asia will be united in a single transportation system. This unification exists today only in the field of air transportation. Bagdad is the junction point on the air line from London to India by way of Egypt. The Imperial Airways began this service fortnightly a few years ago between Cairo and Basra. The trip from Cairo to Bagdad was made in less than twelve hours. Planes also take off at the sea of Galilee in Palestine and at Rutba in the desert, which is also the stopping place for automobile traffic from the Mediterranean to Bagdad. On and after April 1, 1929, this western Asiatic air service was extended from Egypt on to London—first by way of Athens, Genoa and Basle, and later through Central Europe—and from Basra, by way of the southern coast of the Persian Gulf, to Karachi in Northwest India. In this way an ancient route from India to the Mediterranean was again opened up. In 1798, over the land route to the Mediterranean, the Indian government established a mail service from India to England. The trip took several months, but was more rapid than the trip by sailing vessel around the Cape of Good Hope. This mail service continued for thirty-five years, until the safer and more rapid route by steamship put an end to it. Before the World War there was a mail service by camel across the Syrian Desert from Bagdad to Damascus, which took about eleven days. An automobile needs hardly more than a day to cover the same distance now, and an airplane hardly five hours. The first air-mail service between Egypt and Bagdad was put into operation by the British air forces in 1921, and was followed by a passenger service by the Imperial Airways. The regular mail service by automobile between Bagdad and the Mediterranean began in October, 1923, and in 1929 it was being patronized by 18,000 persons. The extension of air service from Mesopotamia to India struck serious difficulties which the Persian government put in the way of the British, since the Persian government was anxiously intent upon permitting no diminution of its sovereign rights through the es-

tablishment of British air stations in this territory in southern Persia which was occupied by England until 1921. The Persian government wanted the air line continued by way of Teheran, while the British government held out for its continuation through southern Persia, along the coast of the Persian Gulf, where it would be under the protection of the British naval forces. After further negotiations Great Britain was accorded for three years the right, under certain conditions, of flying over southern Persia. Great Britain intends to establish air stations on islands in the Persian Golf during this interval. These stations will make possible the flight from Basra to Karachi by way of the Persian Gulf. Until that time the air line extends from Basra to Bushire, Bander Abbasi and Karachi. From Karachi it is to extend further within a few years, to Singapore, and there branch off to the Dutch East Indies, Australia and Hongkong. The Imperial Airways will then encompass the entire Old World with its system of transcontinental air-lines. Through this reorganization of the technique of transportation and communication the British World Empire will be able to seek new ways of strengthening its development and cohesion.

Other air lines are also being pushed forward to Bagdad. The French have established an air service from Marseilles to Syria. A great harbor for seaplanes will be built at Tripolis, north of Beirut. Out of Tripolis there is a quick service to Aleppo and Damascus. The weekly air service from Damascus to Bagdad began in the spring of 1930. Aleppo was to be connected at that time with the Turkish air lines to Angora and Constantinople and with the lines to Europe from there. Of still greater importance is the line from Bagdad to Teheran, established by the Junker Air Corporation. By means of this air line the British-Indian system of airways will be connected with the system of Russia and Central Asia, which extends from Moscow, by way of Vladikavkaz and Baku, to Teheran and Kabul. Russia's advance to the warm waters of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf, which she formerly attempted through the building of the Transcaucasian and the Turkestan railways with their branches to the Afghan frontier, will be taken up again today by air. The Caucasian and Central Asiatic air route,

which has its center in Teheran, connects there with the British route to India, not only by way of the line to Bagdad but also through the line to Bushire. The British route serves Holland also, which works in the East Indies, politically and economically, hand in hand with Great Britain. France is extending her air line from Syria and Bagdad to French Indo-China. On the west coast of the Pacific Ocean—in Japan, at Shanghai, Singapore and Manila, and in Australia—the air lines from the west will, within a reasonable length of time, interlock with those going out from Vancouver and San Francisco, for which America has already provided landing fields in Hawaii and Guam.

The modern network of transportation and communication which is beginning to encompass the earth has, in a short time, changed relationships between the Orient and the Occident which had remained unchanged for centuries. It has mobilized an apathetic and socially quiescent world and will continue to do this in a still more intensive manner during the coming years. Economic relationships between Orient and Occident will become more and more intimate and are gradually becoming less one-sided in their organization. But the significance of the traffic system extends far beyond the economic field. Commerce is opening up new areas and transforming present areas and their relationships. In world politics the problems of the Orient are grouping themselves around two great areas—the Indian Ocean and the west coast of the Pacific Ocean. But both are part of the coming unity of Asia, which under the thoroughly new conditions of the modern world emerges again in the consciousness of mankind.

THIS PRAYING WORLD

by

JOHN WILLIAM KITCHING
Author of "Azrubaal and Lamorna," etc.

East India

How shall I address Thee, O God? How shall I praise Thee?
How shall I describe Thee? And how shall I know Thee?
Saith Nanak, everybody speaketh of Thee, one wiser than the other.
Great is the Lord, great is His name; (it is only) what He doeth that cometh to pass.
Nanak, he who is spiritually proud shall not be honored on his arrival in the next world.

Praisers praise God, but have not acquired a knowledge of Him,
As rivers and streams fall into the sea, but know not (its extent).
Kings and emperors who possess oceans and mountains of property and wealth
Are not equal to the worm which forgetteth not God in its heart.

Make contentment thine earrings, modesty and self-respect thy wallet, meditation the ashes (to smear on thy body).
Make thy body, which is only a morsel of death, thy beggar's coat, and faith thy rule of life and thy staff.
Make association with all thine Ai Panth, and the conquest of thy heart the conquest of the world.
Hail! Hail to Him,
The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age!

One Maya in union (with) God gave birth to three acceptable children.
One of them is the creator, the second the provider, the third performeth the function of destroyer.
As it pleaseth God, He directeth them by His orders.
He beholdeth them, but is not seen by them. This is very marvelous.
Hail! Hail to Him,
The primal, the pure, without beginning, the indestructible, the same in every age!

Make continence thy furnace, forbearance thy goldsmith,
Understanding thy anvil, divine knowledge thy tools,
The fear (of God) thy bellows, austerities thy fire,
Divine love thy crucible, and melt God's name therein
In such a true mint the word shall be coined.
This is the practice of those on whom God looketh with an eye of favor.
Nanak, the Kind One, by a glance maketh them happy.

The air is the Guru, water our father, and the great earth our mother;
Day and night are our two nurses, male and female, who set the whole world a-playing.
Merits and demerits shall be read out in the presence of the judge.
According to men's acts, some shall be near and others distant—(from God).
Those who have pondered on the Name and departed after the completion of their toil,
Shall have their contenances made bright, O Nanak; How many shall be emancipated in company with them!

This is the prayer of an East Indian religious leader, who bore the name of Nanak, who lived in the fifteenth century, A.D. Nanak was the founder of that religious sect known as the Sikhs. He was born at the village of Talwandy, now called Nankana, on the bank of the river Ravi, near Lahore, India. The year of his birth

was about 1469 A.D. He belonged to the Kshatriya caste. He was first a shepherd and afterward became a government official in charge of the state's granary. In his youth, he showed a tendency towards mysticism and in later years, he visited all the sacred places in India for the purpose of formulating the religious system he wished to introduce among his neighboring tribes.

A great influence was exerted over Nanak by Kabīr (1440-1518) the mystic weaver of India.

Grierson says of Kabīr: "What an extraordinary man Kabīr must have been! A poor Muhammedan weaver, who gained admission to membership in a Visnu community by a clever trick, universally despised and hated both by Muhammedans and Hindus, maltreated by a Muhammedan Emperor (Sikander Lodi of Delhi, 1488-1517) and persecuted by the Brahmans of Benares, he had the unprecedented boldness to make a stand against the two great religions of India in the fifteenth century and achieved his purpose."

Rabindranath Tagore has translated the songs of Kabīr into English, one of which follows:—

"O how may I ever express that secret word?
O how can I say He is not like this, and He is like that?
If I say that He is within me, the universe is ashamed;
If I say that He is without me, it is falsehood.
He makes the inner and the outer worlds to be indivisibly one;
The conscious and the unconscious, both are his footstools.
He is neither manifest nor hidden, He is neither revealed nor unrevealed:
There are no words to tell that which He is."

THE CRISIS IN GERMANY

by

J. B. Holt

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I. SOCIALISM—VICTIM OF THE NATIONALISTIC COLLAPSE

It was not so long ago that Chamberlain, Briand, and Stresemann, of the Wilson school of international peacemakers, kept the political faces of Europe smiling. At home and in the Assembly room of the League they harmonized the song of peace and talked about the political aspects of the Versailles Treaty. Bankers and business men supplied skeptical but nevertheless supporting bases at the right places, and the world went on around the sun a few more times.

In the summer of 1929 Stresemann showed signs of failing. People began to ask who would take his place if he should die. Stresemann died. There was none to take his place. Yet the political death of his colleagues indicates perhaps that even if Stresemann had not died, he would just as surely have passed out of the picture. Poor Briand received the daily condemnation of both the French "right" and "left." He was termed the friend of Bolsheviks and Germans in the French daily press. For a while Arthur Henderson attempted to carry on the good work of Austen Chamberlain, but under the new national government he, too, now heads only the unpopular party of protest. In short, the Wilson school of international cooperation has been thrust aside by a new generation who term themselves the students of international economics, establishing their ideal of peace and prosperity on a pedestal of loans and credits instead of pacts and peace talk.

The new generation, while advocating disarmament and peace, has marched in under the banner of national self-preservation, ac-

tuated by the apparent necessity for conservative retrenchment. Britain's condition demanded a national government with its program of reduction in expenditure. And in the French mind, fortifying the national economy is the only safe way to proceed. Fear of an Anglo-American-German economic alliance at her expense, of an Austro-German pact that threatened to turn political in the long run, and more recently the fear of a German-Soviet agreement, all at her expense, have driven France to break up these negotiations wherever possible, to insure herself against possible economic isolation.

This whole reaction *has assumed a war psychology, having socialistic government as its supposed enemy.* But the labor government in England and the socialistic government in France have been framed. They are not guilty. In the United States, no sooner does a democratic party find a depression on its hands than the whole country votes a republican landslide. In England and France, no sooner had the depression romped in than the people pointed to the socialist governments and said, "There's the culprit, the government of waste, of corruption, of pro-bolshevik leanings, of national bankruptcy," and have fallen over backwards into the frightened, alarmist conservatism that sees a Moscow agent behind every international minded scheme and irresponsible spending in every social benefit. The undefended heads of the old liberalism have been declared public enemies.

It is useless to try to convince the frightened reactionaries that socialistic governments were not responsible for our plight. To them circumstantial evidence indicates the criminal. Socialistic governments were in power when the depression consequences hit Europe. Therefore blame socialistic tendencies.

These reactionaries would not call it a fair analogy to point out that the republican party in the United States, which calls itself the party of prosperity, is left at present holding the basket in one of the worst depressions the country has experienced. Yet it is actually true that world depressions have seldom been caused by the party in power.

The new nationalistic governments have the opportunity now

of rebuilding economic security either with or without creating opposition which will prove their own destruction in the long run. McDonald has set the right example by applying himself directly to his knitting without attempting to lay the blame on persons or politics. But others, less constructive, find it seemingly necessary to gush their prejudices and place the blame on socialism, deceiving themselves into thinking that a return to pure laissez faire is the cure-all for depressions. It is inevitable that if they place the emphasis on laissez faire rather than on economy during the next decade they will more and more estrange the workers, whose socialism will turn to communism as the lot of the worker under the Soviet system becomes more favorable.

2. HITLER SPEAKS

Facing each other across the wide tennis hall were two long grandstands, filled with representatives of a body one hears a great deal about in Germany, especially from nationalists, *das deutsche Volk.* There is an even greater difference between *"Deutsche"* and *"das deutsche Volk"* than there is between "Americans" and "the American People." It is a difference of degree,—of nationalism no dobt, although this does not describe what a German feels when he feels himself a part of *das deutsche Volk.* Only a German can feel it. He may think of Frederick the Great, Goethe, and Bismark. He may think of the Black Forest, or his home street corner. One thing he feels is the difference between his land now and what it used to be, spelled to him by reparations, tribute, annuities, unfulfilled disarmament obligations, economic thraldom.

Slogans expressing the resentments of this feeling encircled the hall. "Work shall be free. The land shall be free."

"Better dead than slaves," a slogan that somehow reminded me of Patrick Henry. "It is better to live a day as a lion than a hundred years as a sheep." "Germany must live though we must die."

Elbow to elbow, lining the long aisle between the stands, representatives of Hitler's favorite section of *das deutsche Volk,* the German youth, stood at ease. In their black puttees, brown jackets, and black visor caps with tightdrawn chin bands, they looked very much to a foreigner like chauffeurs off duty, but they took their

job as shocks troops desperately seriously. Where had they all come from? This was a student meeting, yet all there were not students. The majority were lean, sharp featured, and dark,—warm but roughly clothed. What classes did they represent? Supposedly all.

A man stepped to the microphone on the rostrum. The loud speakers roared out "Attention!" The "shock brigade" became rigid. A band struck up. The crowd rose to its feet, looking toward the entrance, arms raised, palms front, in salute. False alarm.

Five minutes later a group of men strode through the gauntlet of cheers and "Heil Hitler's" to the platform. Inconspicuous in the center was Hitler, medium height, neither stout nor thin, brown hair brushed straight across, broad forehead, heavy eyes, Charlie-Chaplin mustache, head not quite erect, a solemn face unexpressive of striking personality. For local color I quote the "Angriff," a Berlin daily edited by Goebbel, who next to Hitler is the most influential Nazi speaker.

"Adolph Hitler stood rigid and straight before the microphone and received again the enthusiastic greetings of thousands reluctant to stop cheering their leader. As a sudden quiet fell, his words rang out through the room, carefully selected, built together like a bronze tower, rousing and sweeping like fire works."

"German people and comrades!" Hitler emphasized every word. His address was a plea for unity,—unity for the sake of *das deutsche Volk.* This was the birthday week of the Reich's founding. In 1871 in the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles was signed the treaty unifying the German states, coincidental with the birth of German greatness. In the same room in 1918 was signed a treaty which marked the resumption of German inner strife and German decadence.

Germany is divided, he continued, Marxists and nationalists. Since the National socialist party of Germany, which represents *das deutsche Volk,* cannot join hands with internationalists who are responsible for Germany's position today, it must have a showdown with the "Jewish, Bolshevic internationalism."

When a weaker nation attempts to cooperate with its cred-

itors, it is always on the terms of the creditors, to the weaker nation's ultimate loss. "What will fourteen more years of weak indecision do to *das deutsche Volk*?" "We want no proletariat, no bourgeoisis. We want a healthy *deutsche Volk*."

Hitler asked the students to forget theories and remember that it is people that matter. Better for this generation of youth to die than for thirty generations of German youths to be emasculated. Nationalize the universities and their science, for with one false move a weak government could wipe all sense and wherefore out of research and learning for *das deutsche Volk*.

The throng cheered. The Hitler anthem rose and fell twice as the flag battalion goosestepped grimly out,—fourteen red flags, black swastika crosses on white infields, strong young men, tight black chin straps, heads high. A pinched faced old woman pushed by me to the edge of the crowd. A swastika cross necklace dangled about her neck. Hitler and the guests of honor marched past.

Hundreds who came to hear Hitler went away doubtful, with this uncomfortable conflict in them. Which was the crime,— to break with international cooperation, making a defiant attempt to save one's land economic ruin at the hand of international creditors who"cooperate" by leveling reparations which require ever increasing borrowing, ending finally in bankruptcy? Or is it a crime to cling to international cooperation, to let one's country continue to be the economic whim toy of its political creditors, be a martyr to a cause of international cooperation that those nations which could best afford it seem in no way inclined to carry out?

For those who can afford international cooperation, militant nationalism is a crime, but for a bankrupt nation to cooperate with creditors who have only their own immediate good at heart is simply treachery to itself. It is the greater crime.

No nation needs world cooperation more than Germany, and no nation is in such a poor position to put it into practice. No nation is in such a good position to begin world cooperation as France, and no nation is less inclined to begin it.

THE COMMON MESSAGE OF THE WORLD'S GREAT TEACHERS

by

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MAN'S SEARCH FOR HAPPINESS

"THE thief cometh not, but for to steal, and to kill, and to destroy; I am come that they might have life, and that they might have it more abundantly." In fact, these master teachers all come with a message of life. It was life in which they were interested—a life that satisfied the full longings of the human soul. We saw how Buddha, determined to find the good life, left his home of luxury, wealth, and social position to search for happiness. He moved from a life of every physical comfort to one of extreme privation. For several years he tried to find the life abundant by starving the physical senses. Not until he accepted the way of temperance, moderation, and self control did he find the road of happiness. These men have all appealed to the imagination of men because they promised an abundant life—a life resulting in extensive, intensive, and secure happiness. It is just this promise of happiness which makes their message one of hope and inspiration to so many millions.

While the struggle for self-realization, with happiness as a result, is the universal struggle of human intelligence, the average individual lives, works, plays, struggles, and dies without knowing the real motives which inspire his acts. Most people do not analyze carefully the motives which determine their daily conduct. In the great world of human affairs this struggle for happiness passes under many names. Men seem to themselves to be doing an infinite number of things. In a very definite sense all are struggling for the same thing. Happiness is the inner quest of the human soul.

John E. Richardson, a modern writer on ethics says: "When we declare that the main activity of human intelligence is the struggle for happiness we have only stated the struggle for completion (self-realization) in another way; we have only stated the commonest fact of daily life, and the most familiar experience of our own souls." Mr. Richardson indicates the nature of this struggle in the following statement: "In men there are demands for happiness which transcend the chemical requirements of the body or the physical satisfaction of passions and appetite. These higher demands rise out of man's spiritual and psychic nature. The entire world of art and literature, of religion, science, and philosophy are results of man's efforts to satisfy these desires." It is this better self or inner-man who struggles for self-realization and constantly leads the individual from the lower and baser pleasures to the higher, more refined and enduring joys of life.

When the human mind becomes thoroughly conscious of the fundamental nature of its own quest, of its own search for happiness, it instinctly turns to a study of the life which will insure that happiness. This rational search for the laws and principles upon which happiness depends is the beginning of wisdom. Once man becomes conscious of his own inner struggle and of the real nature of the thing he most desires, all other things will become secondary to it. *The sooner educators, teachers and parents realize the true nature of this universal quest, the sooner they will turn their attention to a vigorous search for the basic principles underlying satisfaction and happiness. Man has studied scientifically much of the physical realm. He has invaded the worlds of plants and animals. He has done something in the field of psychology. But he has yet to apply the same scientific search for principles in the very nature of the individual upon which enduring happiness inevitably rests.*

This search for satisfaction and happiness is evident not only in part of man's effort, but in everything he does. It is as true in suicide as in the struggle to live; as true of the burglar as it is of the minister. The difference is not in the nature of the original urge which impels humanity on, but rather in the judgment of the indi-

vidual as to the means of obtaining the desired end. Man's ignorance of the laws upon which happiness depends is responsible for the apparent complexity of the entire problem.

Florence Huntley in her book "Harmonies of Evolution" states that throughout the ages this "struggle for happiness has been subject to every character of experiment which the imperious will and strong passions of man and the weakness and stupidity of woman could suggest. It has been subject to gluttony and lust, to fierce ambition, avarice and vanity. It has displayed every variation that animalism, cruelty and folly could suggest to ignorant men and women as means to an end." Continuing Mrs. Huntley says: "Nothing is more evident through all this experimentation than that human happiness is a state of consciousness which does not depend upon the gratification of physical appetites and passions nor upon the acquisition of material wealth. Even power, position and fame seems to be no guarantee for it. If physical appetites and lust were the means of happiness, man would never have lifted himself above the mere animal. If material wealth could insure happiness, then the miser should be happy, but just the reverse is true."

If the above is a true statement of the facts in the case, it is evident that the first great job of the educator of this century is to make a more careful and scientific study of the full nature of man and of his relations to Nature, with the view of determining as accurately as possible the primary laws underlying enduring satisfaction and happiness. In this desperate attempt to find the way of secure happiness, it should be worth much to review the plan of the good life laid out by these masters of wisdom.

Why do so many people fail to find happiness when they seem to be rushing madly after it all the time? The great teachers have a common answer to this question. It is because they seek happiness in those shifting, temporary satisfactions which furnish no guarantee for happiness. They seek happiness in selfish possessions and selfish ambitions. As a result, notwithstanding they attain their ends, they fail to find that soul satisfaction which comes with unselfish attainment and with helpful service to others. Nature or God seems to have determined that the great values of life are

altruistic in their nature, while the shifting temporary values are selfish and as a rule disappointing. It would seem to be a fact of nature that, "He who would find his life must lose it." But it is not a loss except in the sense that one gives up the lesser temporary, shifting, and selfish values for the greater altruistic and enduring things.

In all times and in all places someone has been asking the question, "What is the nature of the 'Good Life'?" "Among all the satisfactions of life, which should be chosen and which rejected?"

First.—There are satisfactions of the flesh, of the appetites, of the passions and of various physical comforts. These satisfactions have certain peculiarities which should be carefully noted by the individual in search of the most abundant life. As a rule these satisfactions are very intense. Some are so very intense as to weaken the individual's capacity to enjoy other satisfactions. They are generally of short duration. They are all capable of being indulged to a point where they leave disappointment, disintegration and misery in their wake. These physical responses are automatic in their nature. They are beneficial only if exercised in their proper place under the control of the intellect in temperance and in moderation.

Second.—There are many satisfactions which come from possessing physical things, from obtaining wealth, influence, power and prestige. It is idle to say that these things do not give satisfaction. Man's quest and struggle for them is evidence of their satisfying power. There is, however, no group of values where the ultimate result in happiness is so uncertain as in this group. Many are they who are disillusioned later in life after they have chased the rainbow of happiness through wealth, power and prestige. There seems to be something about the mere selfish desire for wealth which defeats its own purpose. It is the verdict of the world's great teachers that every man who seeks his happiness through a selfish desire for wealth, power, and prestige must some day wake up to the fact that the way of lasting and abundant happiness lies along a different path. This does not indicate that wealth, influence, and power do not have their place in the scheme

of a life well lived. It is the selfish quest for these things that fails to deliver the much desired results. It is the individual who realizes that wealth, influence and power are trusts to be used according to the principle of equity, justice, and right who receives the satisfying result from this group of values. In the last meeting for considering candidates for the Hall of Fame, the presiding officer made a statement similar to the following: "All men appreciate fame but he who consciously works for it, never achieves it."

Third.—Man has an aesthetic nature capable of many pleasing satisfactions which come with his response to the world of music, art, and beauty. These satisfactions seem to be less dangerous than the physical. The more one experiences these satisfactions the more power one has to enjoy them. It is difficult to picture the end of possible enjoyment in any of these aesthetic responses. They do not seem to have the characteristic of satisfaction as is the case with physical satisfactions. They lead us ever onward into the worlds of harmony and beauty—in sound, color, form, friendships, and love.

Fourth.—Man has an intellectual nature capable of unlimited possibilities. Every new fact that he acquires, every new law of which he becomes conscious, adds to his pleasure and enjoyment. No one can even so much as think of the end of man's capacity to enjoy intellectual pleasures. Day by day man pushes back the frontier of the known into the territory of the unknown. Systems of facts and laws are discovered, new worlds come into view. No mind, regardless of its advancement, will even attempt to set the limits of man's capacity to know the things of nature.

Fifth.—There are satisfactions in the realm of the moral or ethical which come from a proper adjustment to one's fellows—satisfactions of kindness, courtesy, gentleness, and helpfulness. The constructive and permanent satisfactions which come from sincerity, honesty, and trustworthiness are so evident that everyone who has experienced them can testify to their value.

The practice of humility, tolerance, patience, and sympathetic understanding would seem never to produce unsatisfactory results. Both from the standpoint of the individual and of society, perseverance, frankness, and courage seem to be essential to a well

rounded life. The center of the color scheme of happiness is cheerfulness with hope and optimism closely related. The satisfaction which come to the individual in his responses to Equity, Justice and Right are never disappointing. This is not the place to discuss the philosophy behind this thought but there is something inherent in helpfulness and unselfish service to one's fellows which seems to be the very key to the life most abundant. To do unto others as you would that others do unto you, to be as desirous of living a life which is an answer to the prayer of those who need as you are of having your own prayers answered, brings the strength which makes one feel a harmony with the constructive forces of all nature. This is the joy that comes to a soul in harmony with the Law of Right because such an individual is supported by all the benevolent forces of nature.

Sixth.—The intense and lasting joys of self-mastery or the greater conquest, are known only to those who make the effort. Satisfactions of self-effort, self-control and self-mastery, never fail to furnish their share of real happiness. In fact it is upon these that all worthy satisfactions are made permanent. It is one thing to enjoy the satisfactions of an appetite, a passion, or an emotion; it is quite another thing to enjoy the satisfaction which comes from the ability to control those appetites, passions and emotions, to hold them in check until reason and intelligence can fit them into their proper places.

The joys of mere wealth, influence, and power may be intense and satisfying but there is a greater satisfaction in the self-control which can hold these selfish emotions in check and adjust them to the law of right application and right use.

One of the greatest satisfactions that comes to the individual is to know that he is a master of the energies of his own life, of the passions and appetites which press for attention, of the selfish desires which would bring only temporary satisfaction. This joy of mastery comes only to the individual with a will trained to fit the values of life into a satisfying and permanent whole, to the individual who can by reason hold his emotional life in its proper place.

Seventh.—There are the deeper joys which come from love.

To be able to be pals, chums, friends, and lovers are among the great achievements of life. "To do unto others as you would that others do unto you," gives one a feeling of harmony with all that is best in life. To see man's evil ways as immaturity, as a disease of the mind to be adjusted to with sympathetic understanding and a spirit of helpfulness, it to know what Jesus experienced when He said of those taking part in his crucifixion, "Father, forgive them. They know not what they do."

A study of this problem would seem to indicate that all satisfactions are good in and of themselves. They are evil only when they prevent the individual from enjoying satisfactions which are better. They are evil when they tear down the capacity or machinery necessary for living some satisfaction which would make for life more abundant.

If these satisfactions all run parallel and did not conflict one with another, the problem of building up an abundant life would be very much simplified. It would resolve itself into a method and machinery to increase every satisfaction to its maximum capacity. Since there would be no conflict there would be no great problem of choice. Any response which resulted in satisfaction would be good. However, there is no fact in life more evident than that these satisfactions in all of their forms do not run parallel. The poor opium addict can enjoy to the "seventh heaven" his spree, but he cannot enjoy the satisfaction of health, of the confidence of his friends, or of self-control.

Man, therefore, is confronted with the necessity of choosing. He must determine which of all these pleasures, satisfactions, and joys he will select to build for himself a rich, beautiful, and abundant life, with real and lasting happiness as a result.

THE FUNDAMENTAL PROBLEM OF PACIFISM

by

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IT is strange in a world so devoted to the cause of eliminating war that the most central problem of all such efforts is scarcely discussed. The purely jural and contractual approach to this question has made our international thinking shallow and one-sided. Whereas the really deep thinkers of the previous generations clearly realized that purely legal machinry for the settlement of international disputes alone could never give a guarantee of peace unless the real causes for conflict were eliminated, many of the influential leaders of the present generation believe that we can establish peace without curing the causes of war. They hold the childish opinion that the only important cause of war is fear or bad government; and therefore that international agreements of good-will will suffice to eradicate the oldest institution of mankind,—war. These naive optimists are extremely desirous of peace; but they will pay no price for it. They are not inclined to renounce their private advantages in the present system, and cherish the hope that the exploited majority of mankind will continue the *status quo,* without war, and without murmuring.

Space does not permit me to enter into a criticism of this superficial conception. I only wish to say that the argument of the present article is based on quite the opposite philosophy, namely that only fundamental reforms in the economic, social and moral structure of an ever changing world can put an end to armed conflicts. In other words the basic problem of peace is to establish efficient instruments of effecting continuous evolutionary changes in our international social and economic system. Without this, all

our treaties of amity, all our Kellogg-Pacts, all our international tribunals will be useless; they will only serve to hush up existing conflicts without solving them. It is evident from this point of view that the really basic problem of all peace policy is that of international information, because without knowing the outstanding issues between various nations, the drawbacks, penalties and injustices under which they are suffering, (or believe they are suffering) no serious treatment of their ills can be applied,—which would mean the maintenance of peace. Furthermore, peace would mean the creation of a world-wide public opinion, so sensitive and so just that it would not tolerate the continuance of conditions which would ultimately poison international relations and lead to war.

It is my belief that the *world today has little reliable information, and that the lack of such information vitiates all work for peace at its source.* At the present time we have five different types of information. 1) *Governmental information;* contained in state papers and similar documents. This information frequently has no bearing on the situation of the country because it reflects, especially in countries under despotic rule,—and the great majority of countries are under such rule—only the opinions and desires of the ruling and exploiting class. 2) *Capitalistic information.* This is largely the type of information disseminated by our newspapers and periodicals the world over. They treat all international problems exclusively from the view point of business interests; therefore they support "strong governments" and all those political factors from which they can hope for support for a smooth and profitable business. 3) *Diplomatic information* gathered by our diplomatic and consular staffs in foreign countries. This information is largely biased, both from the point of view of the native and of the foreigner. Our diplomats are generally representatives of the ruling class and have no connections others than with the representatives of the foreign ruling class. Therefore they reflect a doubly distorted opinion. 4) *Socialistic information* represented by the press of the various Socialist groups and especially of the Second International, which, in the case of important international

issues appeals to the parties and the trade-unions of the proletariat. This information is far superior to the three kinds previously mentioned, because it gives voice to the views of large popular masses less influenced by nationalistic policy and imperialistic rivalry. However its class attitude is rather narrow and tends to simplify complex problems by exalting the interest of the proletariat. 5) *Communist information.* This, at the present, is the propaganda of the Third International. It is not information at all, in the true sense, but, ably directed from a despotic center, it practices the old Machiavellian policy in the name not of princes but of the populace.

There is yet another kind of information. This consists of small islands of honest, unbiased observation in the ocean of half-truths and propaganda. This is the work of some isolated writers, diplomats and scholars who are above the contending parties (both of classes and nations) and who, animated by a true feeling of world citizenship, try to do justice to all those who are suffering under an unjust and monopolistic system. Unfortunately their voices are weak and their efforts uncoördinated. They face moreover enormous difficulties, in that, in most countries, they are surrounded by governmental suspicion, handicapped by the disfavor of fashionable society, and molested by censorship. Not seldom, even their journalistic existence itself is menaced, and they are deported or exiled by governments who regard their information as "unfair." This for instance, happened in the case of the gifted and fair-minded Paul Scheffer, whose visa was not renewed by the Soviet authorities. Mr. G. E. R. Gedye, one of those rare Anglo-Saxon journalists who study the Danubian and Balkan situation in a truly international spirit, recently described his adventures with the various more or less autocratic governments which by intimidation, false information and a complicated system of *douce violence,* of promises and menaces, make his work very disagreeable. To these unfortunate victims their respective diplomatic staffs rarely give any support, because professional diplomats are not interested in the solution of international issues, but rather only in the maintenance and enhancement of their respective social positions. I have personally observed that most of the foreign diplomats become

100% Magyars in Budapest, Germans in Berlin, Italians in Rome, etc. A great Italian statesman now in exile told me recently that the Italian ambassador of one of the greatest powers, with whom he was in friendly relation for a decade, did not dare meet him publicly in the capital of his own country. Similarly I know of a case, in one of the Danube countries, of a foreign diplomat representing one of the leading powers who dared not receive a leader of liberal public opinion, an internationally known scholar, because his criticism had aroused the ire of one of the local potentates. In face of such circumstances as these, only heroes or saints can do a really useful job in the field of international journalism... (This situation reveals the incomparable value of democratic institutions. In the older constitutional countries of Europe there is practically no political secret at all; everybody knows all the details of the inner and outer policy of those countries. The work of a journalist, in England for instance, or France, or Belgium, or in the Scandinavian countries is absolutely free,—limited only by international decency. If all the world were as democratic as those countries, the world would know exactly where it stands. Were this the unique advantage of democracy, I would regard it as sufficiently important to counterbalance all the existing or alleged failures of popular government.)

Here is really a lamentable situation. It means that international policy of most countries is built up on misinformation or positive lies. The ignorance of the languages of countries outside the Latin or Germanic civilization makes the mutual blindness of the peoples even more hopeless. It has often come into my mind that a *complete translation of a single copy of a governmental newspaper* in Italy, Hungary, Poland, Russia, or any other openly or hiddenly despotic country, would throw more light on the political control and life of that country than the reports of the diplomatic staff for a decade. Of course a bald translation would not be enough, because to one ignorant of the traditional emotions and intellectual associations of those countries, the picture would remain incomplete.

It is evident that only by concerted and enlightened action on

the part of those who have a truly international spirit (that is, fairness and world-vision) can this situation be remedied. Unfortunately very little is being done in this direction. Our peace associations and foundations do not care for this sort of work. I could cite several cases where eminent liberals and socialists of Europe could not find a hearing under their auspices, whereas generally the doors are wide open for the lecturing instruments of autocratic governments. In the same way the different exchange students are very seldom selected from really progressive young people, but they are mostly delegates of military dictatorships or reactionary governments who have inherited the official ideology of the ruling group. I need not go into details. Every conscientious student of foreign relations will agree with me that *the great cause of international peace can not be promoted by the overwhelming majority of existing governments, because they are petrified organs of exploitation and social injustice whose very continuance depends upon the maintenance of the status quo. This continuously poisons international relations.* Our only hope can be that the next generation, and those few enlightened citizens of the present who are fighting for justice and social reforms, will embrace a more broad-minded foreign policy. Most of the so-called leaders of the pacifist movement, however, indulge in exactly the same attitude as our diplomats: they will maintain agreeable relations with the "best set" of people, will have a friendly breakfast with Mussolini or Horthy, and believe that "goodwill" speeches by the oppressors of their own peoples will surely promote international peace.

The foregoing considerations have received an almost laboratory test, in view of the world wide excitement which the interview of Senator Borah with the French journalists has aroused. No one can doubt the impartial intentions of Senator Borah, or the soundness of the principles which he advocated, since they demonstrate that on the basis of an unjust and artificial status quo we cannot maintain peace. In spite of this it was curious to observe how some of his practical proposals concerning the situation in Germany and Hungary have been interpreted in the most antagonistic way. It is manifest that most people have misunderstood the statement of

the Senator, and the Central European situation seems to be a mystery even to diplomats and writers who work in this field. They mix together hopelessly Magyars, Roumanians, Slovaks and Czechs, and the fundamental meaning of a long historical process is entirely alien to them. The lesson of this episode is manifest and at the same time very distressing. How can we hope for a just solution of the international problems of the world, when fundamental facts are unknown or misrepresented, and when study and personal contact is replaced by propaganda or the distorted gossip of the dinner table. How can a sound world opinion be formed about Manchuria or India if the most acute and far reaching problems of Central Europe, a part of our own western civilization remains among journalistic ambiguities? What will reckless diplomats, unscrupulous businessmen, future war profiteers, ambitious demogogues, sentimental ladies do, for whom the *clair-obscure* of the international situation is the best hunting ground for their personal aims?

A final point may be emphasized in this connection, in the light of recent events. This is the immediate and material interest of the average citizens in reliable international information. It is not an exaggeration to say that unreliable international information has caused many hundred millions of dollars of losses for American citizens. Though all conscientious students of Central and Eastern European developements knew perfectly well that a great bulk of the international loans will be dissipated and squandered by reckless military dictatorships and the extravagances of the ruling oligarchies, nevertheless the whole capitalistic press was full of information for a long time, showing the stability and the solidness of these governments, and practically no adverse opinion was permitted which could have hindered the so called "boom" of the banking concerns. The present terrible crisis of the American economic life is to a large extent due to the conscious falsification of international information.

THE CASE FOR WAR

by

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III

THE arguments in defence of war which we have mentioned so far are made in order to minimize the alleged evils of war, rather than with the thought of completely justifying it. True, some who assert the moral values of war do so as though they were sufficient to constitute an absolute justification, but such a view is profoundly mystical. For the most part, the moral virtues evoked in war, like the material gains of invention and construction, are presented as incidental, as qualifications and correctives of an all-black pacifist picture. Although a critical view discloses clearly that the minimizing arguments are an incomplete defence of war, the practical effect of their presentation is not so partial. Much laboring of the point that war is not the greatest of evils, nor by any means wholly evil, produces the impression that war is hardly an evil at all, and that there is no particular need to seek remedies for it.

The essence of the case for war is the assertion that war is good, either in itself or as a necessary means toward some other good of such magnitude that it outweighs the admitted evils. Thoroughgoing defenders of war, though they may make much of the minimizing arguments, in the last analysis justify war in the only way that it can be justified logically, that is by an ethical judgement, by an assertion that it is directly or indirectly good.

The assertion that war is good in itself is so contrary to commonsense and so inconsistent with normal human valuations that it can be made only in a mood of profound mysticism, where rea-

son abdicates and the inexplicable and painful command enraptured assent. Most of the defenders of war have at some time cut the knot of its mixed appearance by an irrational affirmation of its immediate goodness, though generally they have also justified it directly. A few illustrations of the direct acceptance of war follows:

"War is divine in itself, since it is a law of the world. * * * War is divine in the mysterious glory that surrounds it, and in the equally inexplicable attraction which it has for us. * * * War is divine in the protection enjoyed by the great commanders, even by the most daring, who are very seldom stricken in combat, and then only when their renown could be no further enhanced and their mission is fulfilled. * * * War is divine in the manner in which it breaks out. The immediate authors of wars are not free in declaring them, but are involved in a chain of circumstance. * * * War is divine * * * in its results, which often contradicts absolutely the predictions of human reason. * * * War is divine by reason of that indefinable force which determines its success. In no other branch of life does the divine hand make itself felt more actively."[1]

"Let me remind you that in human life as a whole there are always elements and forces, there are always motives and ideals, which defy the analysis of reason—mysterious and dark forces. Man shall not live by bread alone! And in war this element constantly tends to assert itself. * * * It is easy, for example, to demonstrate that the glory of battle is an illusion; but by the same argument you can demonstrate that *all* glory in life itself is an illusion and a mockery. Nevertheless men still live and go on pursuing that illusion and that mockery. * * * Now I suggest to you that one explanation of this extraordinary paradox in human history—the persistence of war in spite of what seems its unreason—is that there is something in war, after all, * * * that transcends reason; that in war and the rights of war man has a possession which he values above religion, above industry and above social comforts; that in war man values the power which it affords to life of rising above life, the power which the spirit of man possesses to pursue the Ideal."[2]

1—Joseph de Maistre, *Soirées de Saint Petersburg*, 1821.
2—J. A. Cramb, *Germany and England*, 1914.

Even a scientifically trained person trying to write scientifically of war, when confronted by its tremendous irrationality is driven to the language of mysticism, ascribing it to something in man's nature deeper and more abiding than reason.

"As I reflect upon the intensive application of man to war in cold, rain and mud; in rivers, canals and lakes; underground, in the air and under the sea; infected with vermin, covered with scabs, adding the stench of his own filthy body to that of his decomposing comrades; hairy, begrimed, bedraggled, yet with unflagging zeal striving eagerly to kill his fellows; and as I felt within myself the mystical urge of the sound of great cannon I realized that war is a normal state of man. The impulse to war is stronger than the desire to live; it is stronger that the fear of death. * * * I do not believe that war can eliminated from the web of life. It is not certain that its complete elimination would be an ultimate advantage to man."[3]

Defenders of war sometimes laud especially those aspects which naturally appear most evil. Hegel, for example, rejoices that "finite pursuits" such as life and property, whose nature should be recognized as contingent, are in fact rendered unstable by war, "and the ethical health of peoples is preserved." By others it is the fact of conflict which is most acclaimed, as with Treitschke, who exults: "The features of history are virile, unsuited to sentimental or feminine natures. Brave peoples alone have an existence, an evolution or a future; the weak and the cowardly perish, and perish justly. The grandeur of history lies in the perpetual conflict of nations, and it is simply foolish to desire the suppression of their rivalry." The deliberate irrationality of such defences of war is well exhibited in the statement of von Moltke:

"No one can deny that a war, even though victorious, is a misfortune for the people, for no annexation nor indemnity can compensate for human lives nor for the grief of families. But, who in this world can escape misfortune which necessity allots? Are not necessity and misfortune parts of our earthly existence in accordance with God's will? War is terrible, just as a plague from heaven, but is is also good; it is our destiny like the other."

3—G. W. Crile, *A Mechanistic View of War and Peace*, 1916.

Such direct approval of war is an excellent illustration of man's reaction to evils which he judges irremediable. Man seems incapable of accepting as ultimate, disharmony between his own ends and the nature of things, between his own will and the universal will. When he cannot bend the latter to his purposes, he usually prefers to will the inscrutable rather than admit himself a frustrated rebel against nature. The thoroughgoing indirect justification of war is fundamentally of the same character. For the condition of things which requires war as a necessary instrument is as disparate from the commonsensible ends of men as is war itself. The situation which is said to be necessary and good and occasionally to require war as a means is this: a world in which human beings are distributed into a number of groups—states, nations, or races—united by no underlying community, but whose relations arise only from the mutual interplay of their respective powers. In such a situation there are two essential elements: the ultimate individuality of each of a plurity of human groups, and the mode of ultimate arbitrament between them, that of violent conflict. Some writers emphasize one element more than the other but both are present in all radical indirect justifications of war.

IV

The view that human beings are divided into necessarily warring groups found its first and most persistent expression in political terms. Reason of state has been the commonest justification of war. First to challenge the medieval doctrine which subordinated rulers to a higher law and justified war only for the party in the right, was Machiavelli. The fundamental postulate of his political philosophy—that the state possesses an ultimacy which justifies the use of any means in its behalf—was capable of sustaining a justification of war for both parties, irrespective of the "right" of the matter. Machiavelli's conception of the "sovereignty" of the ruler gained acceptance with Bodin, Hobbes, and Spinoza, for it was at once descriptive and vindicative of the secular states then emerging from feudal Christendom. The descended doctrine of legal sovereignty, influential to the present time, has always involved more

or less clearly approval of war as a legitimate instrument of the state. The chief expounder of the ultimacy of the state as explicit justification of war was Hegel, and subsequent arguments of this type have been merely restatements of his position.

In Hegel's philosophy the state was the ultimate extension of human association. "It is the absolute power on earth. As regards other states it exists in sovereign independence." By contrast, the interests of the individuals within it are worthless and sacrifice on behalf of the state is a universal duty. The state possesses individuality in the highest sense; individuality involves separateness and further, it involves the coexistence of other like individuals, for it can be sustained only by being affirmed and its independence maintained as against other individuals, a process which Hegel calls "negation of negation." Hence the necessity of a plurality of states. "Because the relation of states at one another has sovereignty as its principle, they are so far in a condition of nature one to the other. Their rights have reality not in a general will, which is constituted as a superior power, but in their particular wills. * * * When the particular wills of states can come to no agreement, the controversy can be settled only by war." The world order then, is the evershifting equilibrium of power resulting from the conflict of wills of sovereign states. The highest obligation which is of any significance for men is that commanded by the power of a state, or as it is prejudicially phrased, Might makes Right.

The foremost English expounder of the Hegelian philosophy of the state is Bernard Bosanquet. Like Hegel Bosanquet emphasizes the unique individuality of the state, the necessity of a plurality of states, and the inevitability of occasional conflict of wills resolvable only by war. In his theory it is truistic that war is an occasional necessity among sovereign states. "States *are* particular independent bodies, themselves sole ultimate judges of their differences and their honor. No independent state *will* brook an order from another state; if it does, its independence is gone. And on such a point there *can* be no arbitration. War *is* the ultimate arbiter, and therefore springs from the very nature of states; and it *does* behoove states to be strong."

The opinions of the German historian, Treitschke, constitute, perhaps, the extremest justification of war along Hegelian lines. Basic in all Treitschke's thought was his exaltation of the state, which he viewed as a supreme personality whose most important characteristic was a will, which required for its realization power. Hence his emphasis upon the necessity of power, and the right of the state to exercise that power upon the slightest provation; for if a state fails to assert its power, its very being is in question. "We mistake the moral laws of politics," he said, "if we reproach any State with having an over-sensitive sense of honor, for this instinct must be highly developed in each of them if it is to be true to its own essence. The State is no violet, to bloom unseen; its power should stand proudly, for all in the world to see, and it cannot allow even the symbols of it to be contested. If the flag is insulted, the State must claim reparation; should this not be forthcoming, war must follow, however small the occasion may seem; for the State has never any choice but to maintain the respect in which it is held among its fellows." As with Hegel, state personality implies plurality of states:

"Treat the state as a person and the necessary and rational multiplicity of States follows. Just as in individual life the ego implies the existence of the non-ego, so it does in the State. The State is power, precisely in order to assert itself as against other equally independent powers. War and the administration of justice are the chief tasks of even the most barbaric States. But these tasks are only conceivable where a plurality of States are found existing side by side. Thus the idea of one universal empire is odious—the ideal of a State coextensive with humanity is no ideal at all. In a single State the whole range of culture could never be fully spanned; no single people could unite the virtues of aristocracy and democracy. All nations, like all individuals, have their limitations, but it is exactly in the abundance of these limited qualities that the genius of humanity is exhibited."

The conjunction of a multiplicity of such states, whose highest characteristic is the exertion of force, necessarily involves war.

This Hegelian conception of the state as an absolutely sover-

eign power, which is an ingredient of most radical justifications of war, is fundamentally contrary to the conception of the state which is implicit in its present democratic organization and public service functions. The commonly accepted idea that the state exists as an agency to protect and benefit its members is directly contrary to the theory which alone can fully justify war as a means, with no imputation of wrong to either side. For the conception of the state as a sovereign person obliged jealously to assert its complete independence at all times and bound by no principle of right beyond itself takes no account of the interests of its individual members. They are obliged to sacrifice life, property, and every other value, according to Hegel, not to protect their own interests, nor even the interests of future generations, but "in order to preserve the substantive individuality, independence, and sovereignty of the state. It is a very distorted account of the matter when the state, in demanding sacrifices from citizens, is taken to be simply the civic community, whose object is merely the security of life and property. Security cannot possibly be obtained by the sacrifice of what is to be secured." As Treitschke put it, "If it existed only to protect the life and goods of its citizens it would not dare to go to war, for wars are waged for the sake of honor, and not for protection of property. They cannot be explained by the empty theory which makes the State no more than an Insurance Society."

(*To be continued*)

THE PSYCHOLOGY OF SOCIAL REFORM

by

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THE greatest obstacle to social reform is the fact that when a man earns money for himself and his family he seems to be taking it from others, with the result that he assumes towards the others a competitive attitude. He either is not concerned about their physical and mental health and technical efficiency, or he positively rejoices in their illness and inefficiency in the belief that under such conditions he will emerge ahead of them in the race of life and thus prosper. He even finds it difficult to unite with his fellow workers to secure a decent standard of living. Or, if he is an employer, he is unwilling to pay wages sufficient to enable his employees to buy the goods which he is paying millions of dollars in advertising and in salaries to salesmen to sell, or to unite with other employers to put a whole industry upon an ordered and humane basis. He is the despair of social reformers and his charities include not even a fraction of his abundance. Such is the psychology which money, in its present form, breeds in men.

But taking this essentially competitive attitude men leave out of account a profound economic truth: that the good of every individual is bound up with that of every other individual; in other words, that each man's good is dependent in large measure upon the total wealth of the world and that the greatest wealth can be produced by a population which lives under conditions conducive to mental and physical health and efficiency. A primary reason why men do not consistently realize and act upon this economic truth is that each dollar bill which each man receives has marked upon it an absolute value. Therefore when considering and deal-

ing with his money he finds it psychologically impossible to realize that his wealth is dependent upon any extrinsic factor—certainly not upon the total wealth of the world.

It is true that when a man stops to analyze the economic laws at work in human experience, he realizes that if much goods have been produced by his fellow men, each article will be sold cheaper, and so each of his dollars will mean more than if production had been limited. But the inevitable effect of a hurried glance at his dollar bills as they are now printed is of an exactly contrary nature. Such a glance seems to assure him that his wealth is an absolute entity, won in competition with his fellow workers, extorted from the pocket-books of employees or won by strong-arm methods from business rivals, and completely separate from their wealth.

It follows, therefore, that the chief hope of teaching men that their wealth is largely a social product, and so of bringing about social reform, lies in the institution of a kind of money which will not claim any absolute value whatsoever, but will be stated *share* or *fraction* of the total wealth of the nation, or better still, of that of all nations of the world. Then every man would have impressed upon him daily the bonds of interest with which he is bound to every other man. Therefore he would give freely to beneficent charities and vote for social reforms which would put healthful influences about every other man in order to increase the efficiency of the others and so add to the real value of his own money. If a worker, he would unite with other workers to secure a decent standard of living. If an employer, he would readily pay a living wage and would cooperate with all other employers in his industry to organize it for the greatest possible benefit of society. Of itself fractional money would effect no change in social organization; but through its psychological effect upon the mind of man, in the end it would work the transformation of society.

An absolute socialism would go too far in the recognition of the social nature of wealth, at least in the case of a society composed, as is ours, of people not psychologically prepared for it. It would ignore the individual effort, the wise planning and the sacrifices which are generally necessary for the accumulation of wealth.

But fractional money employed in a society at least partly individualistic would—after birth-control had restricted the irresponsible birth rate among the poor—give expression in essentially correct proportion to the individual and social elements in the production of wealth. It would adjust men's actions precisely to the realities of economic life. It would at length usher in that just society which some call the New Republic, and some the City of our God.

If the proposed fractional money were international in origin and validity, being sponsored by the League of Nations, it would lead men to renounce war. For every war, even though ending in victory for one's own nation, would destroy property upon which the real value of every man's money would evidently depend. And, in general, the destruction of a given amount of the property of a foreigner would not depreciate the value of any man's money more surely or to a greater degree than the destruction of an equal amount of the property of a fellow citizen.

At the present time in several states of the Union corporations are successfully conducting their business by the use of shares which have no absolute monetary values. These corporations adjust their production to the effective demands of consumers and to the price of raw products and machiney, and their wage scales to the effective demands of employees,—just as do other corporations. Therefore there is no reason to doubt that all business could be conducted upon fractional money. Under fractional money the essential of good business, stability of prices would have to be effected as it should be effected today but is not—by governmental control or ownership—with all their inherent difficulties and dangers. Fractional money would not be a substitute for any form of governmental control.

We must conclude therefore that a currency without claim to absolute valuation, but explicitly dependent upon the prosperity of all men, would induce men to remove every barrier to efficiency in the lives of their fellows everywhere and to the renunciation of war. It would reconcile at the very foundation the good of the individual and that of society and thus would create a psychology of humanity which would make a reality of social reform.

THE PATH OF HISTORY

by

PAUL HINNER

A NEW EPOCH OF CIVILIZATION

THE low state of leadership is one of the most outstanding features in the dissolution of the western and eastern civilizations. Normally leaders are persons whose intellectual and emotional qualities are attuned in such a way as to enable them to perceive the natural trend of the development of a certain feature of life. This perception creates in them the urge to translate it into action and gives them the courage to proclaim their conviction through word and deed. Sometimes these great personalities are conscious of their mission, but up to now they have more often accomplished their task without realizing its purpose in the general development of human affairs. A lack or reversal of constructive leadership is the natural state in a dissolving civilization. Those who assume the rôle of leaders have no ideas which clamor for translation into action. Instead they proclaim the wishes of certain groups of individuals as their program in order to win a following. This tendency is today clearly visible in the progressive decay and impaired usefulness of the religious, political and economic institutions. The existing religion ceased years ago to exert a constructive influence on the development of the affairs of mankind because the leaders abdicated in favor of the political and economic institutions. The constructive usefulness of individualism on the political field ended with the World War. Instead of drawing conclusions out of previous history and present conditions for the future development of human affairs, the statesmen have drifted back into the same line of conduct which led to war. They

crush a war-weary world under new armaments and lose themselves in a maze of intrigue and conspiring treaties, in the effort to realize the selfish aims of their followers. They are unable to act constructively and to conclude a true peace, because they represent human selfishness which is always destructive, and their actions instead of restoring the existing order of society contribute to its dissolution. Parliamentary government in its present form is unable to surmount the obstacles which confront it and has already been displaced in many countries by dictatorships. The so-called treaties which were concluded at the end of the war have not brought peace to the world but merely shifted the hostilities from the military to the diplomatic field.

Peace is a state of mutual good will, which sets in when the development of human affairs progresses in the same direction, and at the same rate as the process of life. The life of mankind as part of the universal life must be in harmony with the latter, if it is to be free from disturbances and violence. The greater number of peace treaties which are recorded in history are merely the termination of a period of growth or of a disease in the body of an epoch of civilization. The obstructing or disturbing factors were eliminated through the activities of constructive forces and the development of human affairs was brought again into its natural stride. The negotiations and treaties are only the form in which nature clothes the process. In the few known instances of the transition from one epoch of civilization to another, the records of history are misleading, because single events are over-emphasized. However, the sum of the experiences, considered in the light of present day knowledge shows that in order to avoid violence and suffering the extension of the new civilization and the development of its organs must be carried on in conformity with the progressing dissolution of the old epoch. A return to the conditions which have been left behind in the natural course of development is impossible and not even the magic formulas of modern diplomacy can turn the past again into the present. The re-establishment of the old state of affairs, if at all possible, would necessarily lead again to hostile groupings of the nations and to another forceful and vio-

lent liquidation in the form of war.

The economic organs of the individualistic civilization failed also at the conclusion of the World War, but through the policy of the United States of loaning large sums to the European nations and through the compulsory measures of relief, carried out at the expense of Germany in the form of the reparations, a complete breakdown has up to now been averted. However, the financial leaders failed to recognize the limitations of this policy and the destructiveness of the subsequent excessive inflation of values because selfishness beclouded their vision. The reparations are weakening Germany to such an extent that its strength will soon be exhausted and distintegration will take place. The collapse of Germany in connection with the unavoidable consequences of the present inflation of values and credit must wreck the economic structure of the world. Great hardships will ensue if the necessary measures are not taken to modify the extremes of the situation and to promote the development of human affairs toward a larger measure of economic security for all individuals. The world has plenty for all and mankind need not suffer, but it must show itself receptive to the impulse through which a new epoch of civilization is being inaugurated and which reveals itself through the trend of historic development, and through currents of thought pointing towards the establishment of economic justice. The Socialistic-Communistic movement is the material expression of this impulse. It shows itself as a stream of fore-runners which reaches from Thomas Payne over Carl Marx to Ulianof Lenin. These were the leaders who in turn, ever more clearly, recognized the necessity for the development of a new social order when the old one should have become useless. They proclaim their conviction to the world without fear, despite persecution and in disregard of personal welfare.

Towards the end of the 18th century the increasing materialistic desires and the rapid growth of the population of Europe, caused a corresponding development of the methods and means for the manufacturing of the desired goods and necessities of life. The profit out of this process of production became available as new

capital. The prevailing individualistic viewpoint caused this profit to be recognized by all people as belonging to the owners of the means of production, although the workers were, at least in part, its producers. Through this onesided awarding of the new capital the contrasts between the upper and lower stratas of society increased until they reached the extreme state which exists today. The upper classes wish to continue to enjoy the advantages of the individualistic civilization and endeavor to keep it in working order through various reforms. Through the corruptive use of the accumulating new capital, they have gained control over the religious, political and economic organs and use their power to prevent the natural development of human affairs as soon as it tends to endanger their material interests. The broad masses of the people on the other hand sink more and more into poverty and economic dependance, through which in turn their political equality is being impaired. Their sufferings, however, make them accessible to ideas which promise relief through the propagation of the ideal of economic justice.

Carl Marx in his works has described this process and shown that in the course of time the necessity will arise to displace the individualistic civilization by a communistic order of society. At his time the efforts for the perpetuation of peace, which were made after the disposal of Napoleon, had subsided and the industrial and colonial expansion of the European countries began to cause new military rivalry. A tendency towards the application of force to the solution of the problems of mankind became general and also influenced Marx. It caused him to conceive the idea of accomplishing the destruction of the old individualistic order and the introduction of communism through a revolution. He did not foresee that inclination towards the use of force and increasing selfishness and love of material possessions would lead to a World War which would destroy the individualistic civilization and crystallize the necessity for a cooperative order. Marx was impressed by the fact that during preceding centuries as well as during his lifetime the actions of most human beings were determined mainly by their selfish-materialistic interests and he took it for granted that this

always had been and always will be so. He apparently did not study history sufficiently to see that spiritual interests outweighed the materialistic interests of the people in the beginning of every epoch of civilization. As a consequence his ideas about socialism and its introduction remained very inadequate, as the practical experience of Russia since the World War has demonstrated. Marx saw in communism only a man-made order of society and refused absolutely to recognize that other forces besides materialistic desires are active in the social progress of mankind. He was an apostle of violence just the same as the militarists and imperialists of his time and therefore unable to recognize that all gains made by material force can only be maintained by such force, while the gains made through moral force endure as an everlasting benefit to mankind. However, the Marxian revolutionary doctrine furnished the impulse for the birth of the communistic epoch in Russia, through which the moral force represented by the collective principle obtained a material body, and in this lies its justification. Its purpose is not accomplished and it must be abandoned because after the violence which accompanies the birth of every organic being, peaceful growth and systematic development is the natural order. The use of material force and physical violence is justified only if selfish interests persist in opposing the efforts for peaceful progress. In the eternal flow of life the World War did not only accomplish the destruction of the individualistic order of society, but also created the conditions necessary for the birth of the successor. The Russian Revolution and the war of the Allies against Russia were the pains of labor accompanying this birth. The Union of Soviet Republics is the physical foundation of the new order and the recognition of the epoch of civilization as a living entity is the first expression of its spirit. Just the same as the belief in a God before whom all men are equal and who not only gave every individual the right, but made it a duty to strive for salvation, brought about the individualistic civilization of today, so must *the conviction that all individuals, as interdepending cells in the body of the same living organism, have equal economic rights, lead to a cooperative order of society.* However, mankind must recognize that the de-

development of this new civilization demands a revision of conduct not only in political and economic, but also in moral respects and that the destructive forces active in the dissolution of the old order must be displaced by constructive forces on all fields of human endeavor, if the new epoch is to develop naturally and remain healthy.

It was the logical consequence of the past that Russia became the foundation for the epoch of communism. When after the great migration of races the Germanic people settled permanently in Central and Western Europe, they were forced to overcome the westward urge of the Slavic race. Present day Germany and Austria bore the brunt of this burden and battled with the Slavs for centuries. Finally the Slavic vanguard consisting of Czechs, Wends and Poles, was shattered and through the extension of the Roman Catholic faith included into the body of the individualistic civilization. Any ambitions which the Teutonic nations may have had to exploit their victory over the Slavs for an eastward expansion were stifled through the appearance of the waves of Tartars under Yinghis Khan and his successors. On the western border of Russia, Germany and Austria developed into a living wall which reached from the Mediterranean to the Baltic and which was extended through the Teutonic Knights and the Finnish people into the Arctic Region. In the South the Turkish people, reinforced by the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Caspian sea, were an insurmountable barrier. Only the eastern border of Russia was open and Asiatic influence and an expansion in this direction was the logical consequence. The subjugation of Russia by the Tartars injected some Asiatic blood into the nation, while through the influx of German immigrants the people also became related to the Germanic race. Russia therefore is not only in consequence of geographic position, but also through the racial makeup, the natural link between Occident and Orient. In order to prevent a premature development the cover of Czarism with its layer of foreign nobility was placed like a blanket over the Russian masses. This cover was reinforced by the Orthodox Catholic Church which had no connection with the religion of Central and Western Europe

and was not affected by the Reformation. Instead of inspiring the Russian people, this religion stifled their mental development and kept the masses dormant. When Russia succeeded in penetrating the western barrier on the Bay of Finland, the nations of Western Europe were already strong enough on the seas to neutralize this success. An attempt to pierce the southern wall was frustrated through Russia's defeat in the Crimean War. These different obstacles and conditions isolated the mass of the Russian people and kept them in a dormant state, secure from penetration by the spirit of individualism. The invasion of Russia by Napoleon was the first knock of destiny at the door; the World War brought the awakening and removed all obstacles from the Russian people. The wall of blood and iron on the western border, Germany and Austria, lies in ruins; the blanket of Czarism and foreign nobility has been thrown off and the power of the Orthodox Church to stifle the mental progress is broken. This sudden freeing of the Russian people from all bonds can have but one effect: "The recognition of Russia's destiny and the application of their own unexhausted power and vitality to its fulfillment." In the process of historic evolution, the Russian masses were kept dormant at a level of culture which still contained a vestige of primitive communism, known as the "Mir;" through the modification of their racial texture they had ben prepared for a closer union with their neighbors and as a consequence of the enforced isolation the natural resources of their country had remained unexploited. This combination of circumstances together with the conditions brought on by the War, made Russia and Russia only the fertile soil in which the communistic ideals could take root and develop into a physical foundation for a new order of society, made necessary by the simultaneous dissolution of the civilizations of Orient and Occident. The geographic position of this foundation between the two old epochs indicates that in the course of the future development, the affected races and nations will be combined by this new civilization into one unit. That this is already in progress is indicated through the fact that in the political organs of the Soviet Union the best features of the parliamentarism of the West and of the selective system of

the East, are combined and that the countries adjoining Russia (China in the East and Poland and Germany in the West) are on the verge of economic and political collapse. This is the handwriting on the wall and mankind has no other choice but to accept the dictate. However, it must be borne in mind that the epoch of civilization as an organic mass-being is subject to a process of slow growth, internally as well as externally, and that therefore evolution instead of revolution must be the watchword in the future. The state of affairs prevailing in the world today demands a territorial extension in a westerly direction of the new epoch, as represented by the Union of Soviet Republics. China in the present state would be a burden instead of a help to the new order and its addition must be deferred until the structure of the new epoch has been strengthened, so that it will be able to assimilate such a vast multitude of people. The joining of the Soviet Union by Poland and Germany, on the other hand, will strengthen the new civilization and make it self-supporting, because it will then combine the raw material with the necessary facilities and experience to manufacture all goods needed for the well-being of large masses of people.

BOOKS ON THE ORIENT

Fannie Fern Andrews: The Holy Land under Mandate. 2 vols., Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston 1931. The first chapters of this book are disappointing, they try to be a narrative about Dr. Andrew's trip to Palestine, about her meeting different people and being impressed by the picturesque country and people. These chapters seem to be written for the common reader who wishes to get impressions in the form of a not well ordered talk. The following chapters, starting on page 283 are of an entirely different nature. They are the outcome of a very serious and elaborate study of all the documents and all the evidence about the British Mandate in Palestine. The author has succeeded to give to any student of the complex and delicate situation in the Holy Land an invaluable documentation. She has put forward the point of view of the British Government, of the Zionists and of the Arabs with an equal fairmindedness and impartiality. Although the book is not well ordered enough to make good reading and to be a really great book, it is certainly a high scholarly achievement and more helpful for understanding the real situation in Palestine than almost all other books on this subject. Prof. James T. Shotwell has written for the book an important introduction where he shows that the Mandates in the former Ottoman Empire have been planned as a bulwark against the exploitation of defenceless peoples and as a frontier of democracy in unfamiliar places. They are not a substitute for prewar colonial government, but an extension of the principle of selfdetermination which has not yet been given sufficient attention. The aim so clearly expressed in article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations must be a major consideration in judging the policy and administration of the Mandatory. Judged from this point of view the British administration in Palestine has completely failed, it has done practically nothing for the political education

and the selfgovernment nor for a true economic and social emancipation and modernization of the people of the country.

Norman Bentwich: *England in Palestine. Kegan Paul, Trench Trubner & Co., London* 1932. This very well and pleasantly written book gives an authoritative account of the British administration in Palestine, but it does not take into account the real fundamental problem of the situation, the irreconcilable political and economic aspirations of the Zionists and the Arabs. The book is an excellent statement of the point of view of British imperialist policy in Palestine mingled with what could be called moderate Zionism. The student of Palestinian affairs will be sincerely grateful to the author who during many years has filled one of the highest posts of the British administration in Palestine with rare distinction for his excellent and lucid exposition of the administrative machinery of Palestine, but he will not always share the optimism and the benevolent judgement of the author. But a chapter like that on the Executive with its detailed knowledge from the inside will rank among the masterpieces of the literature on the public life and institutions of Palestine. The statement that the government of Palestine is a "benevolent" autocracy carrying on "the sacred trust of civilization" will probably be doubted by the overwhelming majority of Palestinians, Arabs and Jews alike. Mr. Bentwich quotes Lord Lugard's statement that the task of the administration "is to foster that sympathy, mutual understanding and cooperation between government and people without which no government is really stable and efficient" and that the motto of the departments of the government is "efficiency and economy." There can be no doubt that the Palestinian administration has completely failed judged by these standards put forward by such an authority on colonial government as Lord Lugard.

Sherwood Eddy: *The Challenge of the East. Farrar & Rinehart, New York* 1931. Mr. Bentwich has in his book on Palestine remarked that "things move today with a dazzling rapidity in the changeable East." Mr. Eddy's excellent volume deals with many

countries of the East, their aspirations and their surprisingly quick development, with India, China, Japan, Korea, the Philippines, Turkey and Palestine. These countries represent 850 millions of people, about one half of the total population of the earth. The author is sympathetic with the subject races of the East, with their new nationalism which is in revolt against the yoke of political, economic and social bondage, which retard the progress of Asia. But the author shows also conscious sympathy with the baffling problems which confront the British administration in India, the foreigners in China, Zionism in Palestine. He is far away from the sentimental idealism and the glorification of the new nationalism which we very often find in anti-imperialist American writers. He gives a realistic presentation of the actual conditions in Asia and he is full of praise for the great achievements of the Japanese in Korea, the British in India, the Americans in the Philippines and the Zionists in Palestine. The situation in those Asiatic countries where there are vast contending forces in the midst of international complications constitutes a great challenge to the Western world, its political wisdom and experience.

HANS KOHN

WINDOWS ON A WORLD IN REVOLUTION

From the fire and blood of the European War, this generation picked up one priceless jewel of truth—that the war-making power of the National governments, in an age of worldwide trade, has become an illusion and a self-betrayal.

From the War's bitter after-math of unemployment and poverty, the age has learned another truth equally important—that wealth and prosperity are no longer a matter of owning the instruments of production, but of creating markets able to use and enjoy the legitimate fruits of industry.

The struggle between these two *new* truths and the *old* truths which led to the present revolutionary condition in all five continents, gives us the key to the existing transitional period, torn between the conflicting claims of the future and the past.

People who can stand even a little apart from the rushing hurricane of startling events, know how much depends upon the successful and early outcome of this tremendous clash of forces—in reality, no mere struggle between two types of nations (France and Germany) nor between two types of economic systems (Capitalism and Communism) but the more fundamental conflict between two states of mind in every human being: the mind motivated by cooperation, and the mind dominated by the law of competition.

Established on this basis, the deeper and more important issue of our generation will not be decided by force of arms nor by force of money and credit, nor by hurried legislation, but by the inner, spiritual capacity of people to understand, and understanding, to exert the mysterious force of *will.*

The only real enemy between us and the goal of world peace and true social justice is that state of mental confusion and moral division *in ourselves* which enslaves the will and hence keeps us in servitude to a degrading world situation. What we actually con-

front today is a conflict between *living* humanity and a *dead* tradition embodied in the system of customs and habits miscalled civilization.

Enlightened individuals here and there throughout the world have been aware of this fundamental issue for many years. Each in his own way has arisen to rid himself of the dead weight of economic, political and religious superstition inherited from the past. The modern world has its guides, its interpreters, its windows opened on the meaning of this sudden and unexpected upheaval and revolution. In thinking through to a sound world outlook, these pioneers have cleared the path for others, if we are of those who truly seek truth.

Many of these pioneers of a world order have used *World Unity Magazine,* knowing its broad aims and purposes, as the medium to convey their ideas to the general public. The ten volumes of *World Unity* published between October, 1927 and September, 1932, therefore constitute the most compact source of knowledge on all vital aspects of world affairs in existence today. Unlike other periodicals, *World Unity* is not a mere succession of monthly issues, each perishing with the turning of the calendar. On the principle that a truth is deathless and enduring until assimilated by a decisive majority, the volumes of *World Unity* are more contemporaneous, more closely related to a human problem, than this morning's paper. Newspapers deal with events; *World Unity* with trends and with underlying meanings and with *possibilities.*

Take one topic of the most intense interest and importance—the situation caused by Japan in Manchuria and China. One can know all the concrete facts and yet miss the whole significance due to lack of cultural and historical background.

Here is that background in *World Unity*: "Why East and West are Different," by Grover Clark; "Interaction of Europe and Asia," by William R. Shepherd; "Orient and Occident," by Hans Kohn; "Round the World Log of a Sociologist," by Herbert A. Miller; "Nationalism and Internationalism," by Herbert Adams Gibbons—five book-length serials by eminent scholars, not to mention a large number of single articles by other authors which throw light on

the vast problem of East and West.

Or the question of post-war political and economic developments — *World Unity* contains these significant studies: "The League of Nations and the United States," by Elizabeth Bassett; "The Challenge of World Unemployment," by Sir Norman Angell; "International Politics and World Peace," by Dexter Perkins; "The Quest of World Peace," by the same author; "Economic World Welfare," by Amos Stote; "Fellowship and Class Struggle," by A. J. Muste; "Youth Demands Peace," by a number of college undergraduates; "World Citizenship," by Carl A. Ross; "The American Peace Movement," by Russell M. Cooper;" and "The Case for War," by Robert C. Stevenson.

For the vision of the world movement as a whole—"A World Community," by John Herman Randall; "Progress by Telic Guidance," by Mary Hull; "Racial Relationships and International Harmony," by Frank H. Hankins; "The Path of History," by Paul Hinner; "The Coming World Order," a symposium by leading educators. (The equivalent of five books).

And the larger philosophic and religious questions involved in the restlessness of the age—"Science, Philosophy and Religion," by Edwin Arthur Burtt; "Science and Religion," by Kirtley F. Mather; "One Religion—Many Faiths," by J. Tyssul Davis; "Sacred Scriptures of Five Great Religions," by Alfred W. Martin; "The Biological Sanctions of World Unity," by Ernest M. Best; "Changing Conceptions in Hinduism," by Albert J. Saunders; "The Message of the World's Great Teachers," by Hugh McCurdy Woodward. (As much material as in six books).

Biography—the life work of those who have laid the foundations for peace and justice—*World Unity* has published articles on nearly forty leaders in America, Europe and the East, in the series "Apostles of World Unity," written by various authors. In addition—"The Conscience of Europe," by Robert Merrill Bartlett.

Finally, that elusive but all important human value, *culture,* has been re-interpreted in *World Unity* through the following titles: "The Novel of the War Years," by Evelyn Newman; "The International Note in the Novels of the Pre-War Years," by the same

author; "Youth and the Modern World," by representatives of the post-war generation; "The New Humanity," an anthology compiled by Mary Siegrist; "This Praying World," edited by John William Kitching: "Leaves of the Greater Bible," edited by William Norman Guthrie; "My International Family," by Martha Taylor Brown; "Elements of a World Culture," by Cassius J. Keyser, R. G. Tugwell, Harry A. Overstreet, Alfred W. Martin, Nicholas Roerich and John Herman Randall, Jr.

The foregoing summary lists only serial articles. In addition, *World Unity* has published several hundred single articles by well informed authors in America, Europe and the East.

A number of readers, recognizing the value of the international literature stored up so conveniently in the ten volumes of *World Unity,* have donated complete sets to Colleges, Public Libraries and other institutions, where they can be most widely used.

Whether as a gift to an institution, or as one's own personal library of works on "a world in revolution," these volumes constitute an invaluable force making for sound knowledge, broad sympathy and firm confidence—in every sense of the phrase, an education in world affairs.

World Unity, in brief, has made itself invaluable to those who feel the need of a wider and clearer outlook on the vast panorama of this complex, ever-changing era—who have outgrown the limitations of the worst form of provincialism, the idea that "economics" alone, or legislation, or creed, or any other *one* social factor is able to cope with a situation which affects humanity and civilization as a whole.

As many great sociologists have declared, there is room for a magazine endeavoring to follow the symphonic movement of the age, and not merely strike one isolated note in the vast harmony of truth.

WORLD UNITY AND THE CRUCIAL YEAR
1932 - 1933

Amid the perplexing clamor raised by this or that "revolution," the editors of *World Unity* stand with those who believe in the calmest and yet most useful of all "revolutions"—the substitution of knowledge and understanding for prejudice and ignorance as the mainspring of public affairs.

Continuing its firmly established editorial policy, *World Unity* will present throughout the crucial year to come a number of serial articles, some in full book length, prepared by thoroughly responsible scholars on subjects of general importance and real concern.

The key note of the next phase in the unprecedented world situation has been clearly struck by the recent remark of a close student of international affairs, who pointed out that the United States possesses decisive world power but does not know how to use it rightly.

World Unity endeavors to promote that broader field of knowledge which can alone serve the ends of responsible power. It enables the American people, particularly, to meet the new moral obligation of modern citizenship.

Editorial Announcements

Present plans indicate that the October, 1932 issue—Vol. XI, No. 1—will be a special number devoted to the Orient. Many articles have been gathered on that subject, and when the contents are finally decided the "Orient" number will represent a valuable contribution to that vital theme.

The Substance of World Cooperation, a symposium, edited by T. Swann Harding, containing articles by scientists and engineers outlining the neglected topic of the Scientist's contribution to so-

cial unity and peace. Among the authors already arranged for are: Michael I. Pupin, Stanley P. Reimann, Maynard Shipley, Benjamin Ginzburg, Edwin Krieg, L. A. Hawkins, Wm. H. Barton, Jr., James Theron Rood, Samuel B. Ely, T. Swann Harding; others to be announced.

China's Changing Culture, by Frank Rawlinson, explaining the movement taking place within the largest homogenous population on earth.

The Common Message of the World's Great Teachers, by Hugh McCurdy Woodward, continuing a series which goes to the roots of the spiritual problems underlying the intercourse of races, nations, classes and creeds.

International Cooperation, by Manley O. Hudson, clarifying for laymen the nature of the legal problems involved in the new international situation.

Apostles of World Unity, continuing the important series of biographical sketches of men and women who have pioneered for peace.

India's Problem and International Cooperation, by A. J. Saunders, an American scholar, long resident in India, carries the true Christian point of view to the question of India seeking to fulfill her great desiny.

Whither Bound Religion? edited by Paul Russell Anderson, a series of interesting comments written by leaders of different Faiths for a former member of the faculty at the American University, Beirut.

The Economic Problem will be taken up from the constructive angle of the engineer in occasional papers by Ernst Jonson whose articles have already commanded wide attention in *World Unity.*

World Citizenship, by Carl A. Ross. The editors hope to receive another series of articles from the American attorney who has developed the thesis that the League of Nations should be replaced by a Federated State on the American model.

The Path to God, excerpts from religious literature of this age which provides a meeting ground for the historic religions and a source of new spiritual knowledge and faith.

WORLD UNITY DISCUSSION GROUPS

Many people, especially in the United States, feel the need of intellectual stimulus and a more adult approach to the special social problems of this troubled age. They have become uneasily aware of the fact that the possibilities of human intercourse are by no means exhausted by business contacts, golf, bridge, cocktail parties and casual conversation.

Unquestionably, every community, however small, contains matured men and women who crave the reinforcement and fulfillment of a congenial group which, without oppressive formality or the limitations and expense of an organized club, can permit a mutually helpful exchange of opinion on important current events and the general world outlook.

As a basis of common interest, a focal center for group thought, *World Unity Magazine* has a distinct field of usefulness. Its articles mirror the richly varied events and subjects of the day, but aim to set forth true principles without propaganda. It works for deeper understanding and not to influence belief or promote action.

One alert individual in a community at this time can render a very real service to his or her friends and associates by forming such a group and contributing the initial stimulus required to release the latent powers of group discussion and consultation. Each issue of *World Unity* will provide more than enough "starting points" for an interesting evening of free mental exchange.

In making this suggestion, *World Unity* has no thought of attempting to organize any groups of this nature that may develop. The dynamic of the project is that each group remain both informal and free to develop in its own way.

The real point is, whether we are right in assuming that America contains a great number of people who are unsatisfied by the present childish arrangements of human intercourse.

Address correspondence on this subject to Managing Editor, World Unity, 4 East 12th Street, New York, N. Y.

WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL

To DAVID STARR JORDAN

The name of David Starr Jordan has become associated with faith in the reality of world peace. His contribution to the peace ideal was made at the highest level of human achievement, through the power of a personality uniting scientific intelligence and spiritual aim. In his life and work an age striving to throw off the intolerable burden of organized conflict grew more conscious of its capacity for progress and more determined to attain the goal of cooperation and accord.

In order to give continuance to Dr. Jordan's vision and attitude, never more needed than in this period of confused purpose and ebbing courage, it is proposed by a number of his friends and associates to establish a World Unity Memorial to David Starr Jordan.

The purpose of this Memorial is to make possible the wider diffusion of Dr. Jordan's important statements on peace and international cooperation by magazine and pamphlet publication, in a form rendering them available to peace workers throughout the world, and to encourage the rise of the peace spirit among the new generation of college students.

It is the privilege of World Unity Magazine to serve as the organ of the David Starr Jordan Memorial, under the auspices of a Committee representing the scholarship of America, Europe and the East.

Friends of David Starr Jordan, and friends of world peace, may assist in the realization of the purpose of the Memorial by contributing toward the modest expenses involved. A contributing membership may be secured for five dollars; a student membership for two dollars; a life membership for ten dollars. Copies of all Memorial publications will be furnished members without charge.

In addition to the publication of David Starr Jordan's most important statements on the subject of peace, the Memorial will offer an annual prize for the best essay on world cooperation submitted by any college undergraduate.

WORLD UNITY MEMORIAL TO DAVID STARR JORDAN
4 East 12th Street, New York City
(*Sponsored by Mrs. David Starr Jordan*)

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"It has been very encouraging to see the warm reception which WORLD UNITY has received and to note its constant progress. There was room for a magazine which should devote itself to a non-partisan discussion of the intellectual and moral aspects of world cooperation and international movements, and WORLD UNITY has met this need in a most satisfactory manner."—*John Dewey.*

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